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INDIA.

VOL. II.

SIX MONTHS IN INDIA.

BY

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'OUR CONVICTS,' 'LAST DAYS OF RAMMOHUN ROY,' ETC.

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SIX MONTHS IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

BOMBAY—FAREWELL TO INDIA.

1857

On Friday morning, Feb. 1, the steamer appeared in sight, and I was soon on my voyage to Bombay. On Sunday morning we were pleasantly greeted with the sound of church-bells. We were near Cawa, a new station, and the Bishop of Bombay, who was on board, was summoned on shore to consecrate a burying-ground. It is intended to be a depôt for cotton; the natives, however, are averse to change, and are not as yet disposed to bring it here. The bay is a glorious one, and for some time we had the surrounding mountains in sight, bright in the morning sun.

Tuesday morning, Feb. 5, found us in Bombay Harbour, after a voyage lengthened by contrary winds. The first aspect of the city from the water is very striking, and very different from that of the other capitals I had visited. The houses are higher, and have a more foreign aspect; they are lofty, as land is valuable, and there is an air of businesslike activity pervading every street. A kind welcome awaited me in my Indian home, as well as abundance of despatches from England, very welcome in a foreign land.

I found Bombay society in a state of considerable excitement, in consequence of the approaching departure of Sir Bartle Frere and his family, on account of the expiration of his term of office. Every one was wishing to do him honour. Two remarkable events had taken place during the preceding week. One was a bazaar for the benefit of the Alexandra Girls' School, in which Lady Frere had taken a warm interest; it was managed chiefly by the Parsees, and the young ladies of the Parsee schools executed beautiful needlework for it. This was a novel attempt, and succeeded well. The other was a party given by a native chief in honour of his Excellency the Governor; he had come to Bombay with his lady, whom he was desirous of initiating into English civilisation, while she retained her native dress and habits. She had even begun to learn English, and had been a visitor at Government House. It was intimated to her that it would be very gratifying to her European friends if she would herself receive her visitors; she so far overcame her native reserve that, supported by an English lady, she joined her husband in doing the honours of the party, with as much dignity and grace as if she had been born to a court life. This Brahmin chief and his lady have led the way. May their example be soon followed by many of their countrymen and women! The Chief of Jumkhundee and his wife purpose visiting our island ere long, and will then give us an opportunity of showing our appreciation of so great a triumph over ancient thraldom.

Another brilliant entertainment had been given in honour of Sir Bartle and Lady Frere by a native gentleman, a member of the Legislative Council, the Hon. Munguldass Nuthoobhoy, at his magnificent mansion. This also I lost by my delay.

A good share of festivities remained for me, however, —more than I had ever entered into during the whole course of my life; and as these gave me opportunities of becoming acquainted with both English and native gentry, whom I might not otherwise have had an opportunity of meeting, I did not consider the time lost.

The English resident gentlemen who were members of the Byculla Club gave a beautiful ball, in their splendid lofty room, in honour of the departing Governor and his lady, which was universally regarded as eminently successful. There was also a public dinner held there, which brought official gentlemen from distant parts of the Presidency, to show their respect to Sir Bartle Frere. The report of the dinner, in the papers of the day, showed that the speeches possessed no common interest, and that the eulogiums on the Governor they were losing were not mere compliments, but sprang from the heart. What he himself said showed that no common tie existed between him and the Presidency which had been under his care. Nor was Lady Frere forgotten on the occasion, but was gratefully mentioned, as one who, in her own peculiar sphere, had done a most important work for the natives, in co-operation with her husband.

The most splendid entertainment of all was, however, given by Mr. Sassoon, the worthy son of that David Sassoon whose name will be immortalised in this part of the world, by the many munificent gifts he made to this country of his adoption, by the establishment of valuable institutions. This ball surpassed anything I had seen or heard of. Looking down from an upper verandah on the garden, illuminated everywhere with jets of gas, one could fancy oneself in a scene described

in the 'Arabian Nights' Entertainments.' The illusion was heightened by the presence there of the honoured mother of the host, in queenly attire, looking with proud delight on the scene, and receiving the guests with native dignity, though (as Arabic was her mother tongue, and she had never acquired English) many could not converse with her.

The receptions, and a ball at Pareil, the Government House, were also very agreeable, especially as there were many native ladies at every one, as well as gentlemen. Mr. Venayek Wassoodew, the sheriff of the year, brought his intelligent young daughter, that she might learn betimes the customs of English society. On another occasion I met a Hindoo gentleman calling at Government House by appointment, with the ladies of his family.

Nor were the festivities of Bombay prompted solely by desire to do honour to the Governor whose departure all so much regretted. Much has always been said of Anglo-Indian hospitality, and I can certainly bear a grateful testimony that Bombay sustains the ancient character. Not only was a home kindly proffered to myself by many, when my friends were about to depart for England, but I had ample opportunities of perceiving that friendly interchange of courtesies was the habit of the place among the English residents; and were I to indulge myself in recording them, they would alone fill a chapter. That would, however, be no more in accordance with their wishes than with the object of this work.

One of these acts of hospitality must, however, be mentioned. Before coming to India, a visit to Elephanta was the object of my special desire, the wonders of that marvellous place having been familiar to me by

description from early youth. It is on an island a few hours' sail from Bombay, and is a day's excursion. It was, therefore, with much pleasure that I accepted an invitation from Sir Charles Sargeant, to join a picnic party to that place. Though the Sarkej day at Ahmedabad had shown that Indian picnics are very different from English ones, yet I was not prepared for the grandeur of this. At 2 o'clock P.M. on Saturday, Feb. 16, we were to assemble at the Apollo Bund, or wharf, where a steamer had been chartered for the occasion. It sounded somewhat strange to hear the name of the elegant Greek deity in this country; one would think that there were a sufficient number already of gods and goddesses of a very different description, from the poetical mythology with which we have been familiar from childhood. I learnt, however, that a Hindoo name of somewhat similar sound has been metamorphosed into this.

A large and pleasant party was assembled, among whom was the gallant Admiral I had met at Calcutta, who was at present stationed with his ship at Bombay; he brought with him boats for landing at the island, manned by British sailors, splendid specimens of their race, who formed a wonderful contrast to the slight forms of native sailors. A pleasant voyage, varied with the changing views of the mountains on the retiring coast, and the islands near, brought us to the low flat shore of Elephanta, from which rises the gigantic mass of rock, reminding us somewhat of the huge beast whose name it bears. The low part of the island, down to the shore, is covered with bushy trees of the mangrove kind, which are believed to cause an unhealthy exhalation. A very long flight of well-made steps up the face of the rock was constructed by some devout Hindoo

lady, for the convenience of the pilgrims to the sacred shrine, and is a great help to excursionists. On arriving at the top, we see a large rock covered with small trees and brushwood, and a wide entrance to the sculptured recesses of the temple underneath its brow, which is supported by massive pillars. Modern railings do not add to the beauty or congruity of the place, but may be necessary for protection to the interior. The first glance on entering is most imposing, and fills the mind with astonishment at the marvellous perseverance, talent and power, requisite to have hollowed such a place from the solid rock, and with a somewhat painful awe at the glimpse into the superstitions of remote ages which it reveals. The lowness of the roof, in comparison with the thickness and size of the columns, gives a feeling of oppression; but one is irresistibly led on to the grand central sculptured group fronting the entrance, which stands alone as an alto-relief from the rock, enframed, as it were, with grotesque symbolic figures, not quite worthy to be compared with the cherubic hosts of many of our ancient paintings. This is the famous triune deity of the Hindoos. The gigantic figure whose head supports the roof stands against a column near, with calm but downcast countenance. The learned and celebrated Dr. Wilson, in a lecture on the Religious Excavations of Western India, gives the following explanation of this famous group:—

'Fronting the entrance of the large temple, but at its extremity, is the great trimúrti, or image with three heads combined together, about nineteen feet in height, though it extends only from the shoulder upwards. This is Shiva, possessed of the three functions of creation, preservation, and destruction, and personified with the active attributes ascribed respectively to Brahmá,

Vishnu, and Shiva. The front face is that of Shiva as Brahmá, the god of prayer, or the word, in whom the creative energy is thought to centre. The face to the right of the spectator is that of Shiva as Vishnu, the god of preservation, recognised by his purer appearance and his symbol, the lotus. The face to the left of the spectator is that of Shiva, as the destroyer, recognised by his fiercer aspect, the feline moustache, the slabbering lip, the terrific serpents in his hand and forming his hair, his prominent brow, and the skull near his temples. This composite bust, which is unique in point of size and execution, is remarkable for its head-dresses (royal mukats or diadems), with pearl pendants and precious stones set in gold or silver, and necklaces and ear-rings and other ornaments, which throw light on the capital and thoracic adornments of the kingly natives before the introduction of the turban. It was almost perfect till a few months ago, when some thoughtless or mischievous visitors broke off a portion of the noses of two of the figures. Though it represents a triad of comparatively modern invention, it is in unison with such a triad of deities as the Hindoos, like other ancient peoples, have been familiar with from the earliest times.'

We will not here follow the Doctor in his learned explanations of the groups and figures which may be seen in the side aisles, so to speak, of this temple. All the figures have some painful significance; nothing is to be found anywhere calculated to elevate or purify the mind. Beyond these on the left, we saw some small chambers with a stone in the centre, either for sacrificial purposes, or as the pedestal of a figure now gone. Here very sacred ceremonies were performed, but the temple appears to be now deserted by pilgrims

or devotees. On the left it was pleasant to get a glimpse of heaven's light, and see some of the exterior of the rock. Leading to a gloomy chapel hollowed out of it was a flight of steps, on each side of which was the sculptured figure of a lion. These noble beasts were of a somewhat distorted form, for the Hindoos in their sculpture and carving never appear to copy nature, yet they were more agreeable objects than some which I had seen in this place.

Preparations were made for dinner outside the entrance, where it was refreshing again to be in the open air, and a sumptuous banquet was laid before us, which inspired us with feelings forming a striking contrast with what we had just experienced. The sight of the sun setting on the water from a solitary elevation was most grand and elevating. Nature has throughout all ages borne her own unvarying testimony to the holiness and greatness of the Creator, who is ever the same, though men forget Him in their many inventions.

When darkness closed in, blue torches were lighted in the temple, which produced wonderful effects of light and shade on the large columns and sculptured figures. In due time we descended to the shore, and a brilliant moon lighted us over the waters to our homes.

The schools were, of course, an early object of my attention, after my return to Bombay. I was invited to see three, for girls, on the morning of February 7; from that time until my departure, visits to the schools, and conversation with the managers, so as to understand their real wants and wishes, occupied a very large share of my time and attention.

The movement to promote female education in Bombay differs from that in the other Presidency capitals, in having been originated by the native in-

habitants themselves. More than fifteen years ago, a number of intelligent young men, who had been educated at the Elphinstone College, had formed themselves into a body called the Students' Society. They strongly felt the great importance of educating the female portion of the population, whose ignorance was a constant clog on their own advancement. But the prejudice against the education of girls was then very great, sufficient to have daunted any but the most determined and persevering. Several native gentlemen, however, undertook the matter, proceeding with the caution which they saw would be necessary, to overcome the opposition made by the ignorant. The very smallest aid from Government would have excited suspicion of intended interference with social institutions. At first, they taught the little girls themselves, supporting the schools at their own expense, and after they had succeeded in inducing a few to come, and had established a small school, they were obliged to employ pundits in default of native female teachers. A native gentleman, one of those who originated the schools, told me that he was hooted in the streets for what he was doing, and especially by women, as it was supposed that this was a plot to prevent the marriage of their daughters. The Students' Society has retained the management of most of the girls' schools. Some are small, as it is not uncommon for a single individual to undertake the chief support of a school of which he is regarded as the patron; such were those which I saw on that first day, when I had the pleasure of meeting the president, Dr. Bhau Daji, who presented me, from the Society, with a copy of its proceedings, beautifully bound. These little schools were evidently well taught, as were indeed all which I visited. The Hon. Mr.

Munguldass patronises a large school, to which he conducted me, and at another time I visited one containing 200 young ladies, arranged in classes in various rooms. Perfect order prevailed, and evident care had been taken in organising the whole; a female sewing-mistress was here employed, and the specimens of worsted work were beautifully executed; some of it now graces my drawing-room at home. These schools were, as I stated to the native gentlemen who accompanied me, as good as they could be made, without female teachers; the same defects were, however, observable here as elsewhere, inseparable from the existing circumstances. These my native friends were as much alive to as myself, and as anxious to have corrected. Indeed, they requested me to induce some English ladies to visit their schools, as this would inspire the parents with confidence. It was very gratifying to observe such a change in public opinion, and such confidence in the friendly intentions of the ladies of the city. Subsequently, arrangements were made with some to visit the schools, for it was felt that, if unable to speak to the children, through ignorance of their language, the influence of their presence would be beneficial.

After some interviews on the subject, with leading Hindoo gentlemen, they perceived that the first step towards an advanced state of female education would be the establishment of Female Normal Schools, on the plan I had elsewhere proposed, where superior, well-educated teachers should be engaged to give such training to others as should qualify them to carry on efficiently the great work of education. It was resolved at once to prepare a memorial to the Government, of which the following is a copy.

To His Excellency the Honourable Sir H. B. E. Frere, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., Governor of Bombay.

The humble Memorial of the undersigned inhabitants of Bombay most respectfully showeth,—

That there are at present in Bombay about thirteen Native Girls' Schools, maintained entirely by private donations, and that the number of pupils attending these schools is about 1,600.

That, owing to the impossibility of obtaining trained female teachers, male teachers are necessarily employed in these schools—a state of things which is evidently undesirable in itself, and which, besides, prevents the true development of female education.

That as there are only male teachers available at present, the girls are not allowed to remain in the schools after they are about twelve years of age, and their education consequently remains quite incomplete.

That the want of regularly trained female teachers is felt not only in Bombay, but throughout the Presidency; nay, throughout India.

That as female education is, if not the most, at least one of the most important measures connected with the future welfare of India, and as the Imperial Treasury has not yet been taxed in the cause of female education in this Presidency, your memorialists earnestly solicit that your Government will be pleased to establish at once a Normal School for the training of respectable female teachers to supply the most serious want.

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

MUNGULDASS NUTHOOBHOY (and others).

Bombay: February 27, 1867.

It was gratifying to observe that the Hindoo gentlemen of Bombay not only devoted considerable attention to making their schools as good as circumstances would permit, but took opportunities of giving encouragement

to the little scholars, and exciting an extended interest in the cause of female education. The visit to Bombay of the Thakoor of Bhownuggur on occasion of the Durbah, to present to him the Order of the Star of India, presented an excellent opening for this; it was felt to be very important that a prince of so much influence should be enlisted in the cause, and preparations were hastily made for a prize-giving to a girls' school, held in the residence of a native gentleman. I was also invited. The little girls in their holiday trim, ranged in a large balcony, presented a very pleasing spectacle. The Thakoor arrived in some state with his prime minister, and considerable impression appeared to be made, as the little girls came forward to receive their prizes from him. He returned to his province much struck with what he had seen, and left, I understood, substantial tokens of his approbation.

On the next day, February 23, another native gentleman, the patron of a girls' school, invited a number of friends to be present at a festival for his scholars. A large company was assembled by special invitation, and the little maidens looked much elated with the scene. After receiving the prizes, or rather presents, they were conducted to the balcony, where a splendid display of pyrotechnics delighted both old and young. I withdrew from them to visit the ladies of the family in their seclusion, greatly regretting that those who would most have enjoyed the exhibition could obtain only a furtive glance at it. It is not a matter of wonder that those Hindoos who oppose the emancipation of women object to allow their daughters to go to school, and prefer that they should be educated in the seclusion of the zenana. It cannot be expected that young girls who have enjoyed such festivities as these, freely mingling in society,

should afterwards remain satisfied with the present condition of female life in India.

The Parsee girls' schools are distinct from those of the Hindoos, but similar; they also have been established by native zeal, and carried on under native management; they are similar to each other in their general features. I visited a large and excellent one. Most of the scholars in this, as in others, appeared to be, and I believe were, of the higher orders of society, though the dress of some indicated straightened circumstances; they were, however, all treated with equal consideration. It was striking to observe how much more nearly the dress of the Parsee girls approaches European costume than that of the Hindoos. They almost uniformly wear an English-looking jacket and skirt, often very highly ornamented, with shoes and stockings, a small embroidered skull cap being their only peculiarity; this dress has a remarkably neat and pleasing appearance. There are, besides, some large and well-managed girls' schools connected with Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy's Parsee Benevolent Institution. These I visited under the escort of the superintendent, an English gentleman, thoroughly acquainted with the systems of school training adopted in our country. He has long earnestly desired to have the services of English female teachers enlisted in these schools. The needlework here was excellent, being taught by a tailor, plain sewing being done, as well as worsted-work and embroidery. The elder class read in the vernacular, with evident propriety and correctness. On being informed by a gentleman present that they were reading the history of an American girl, Laura Bridgeman, who was blind and deaf and dumb, I told them several anecdotes of that young person, who is so wonderful a trophy of

the victory of enlightened benevolence over the obstacles which would have seemed insurmountable; added that I had seen the remarkable man who had taught her, and had myself received a letter from her. The young ladies appeared deeply interested when this was interpreted to them, and, at my request, several wrote an account of it; one was selected to be sent to the blind sister in the other hemisphere, accompanied by a translation made by one of the scholars of the boys' school. It is as follows:—

Laura Bridgeman,—Miss Mary Carpenter came to our school. She made us read a lesson about you from our book, hearing which Miss Carpenter told us that you were still living; and the lady also told us that at one time, when there was a famine in Ireland, though you had no eyes, by making good specimens of embroidering with your own hands, you sold them and contributed the proceeds to the famine fund. Hearing this, we were greatly pleased. Reading this account of you, we were greatly surprised to know that, though those who can see with their eyes do not in the course of a year and a half learn to read, to write, to sew, and knit, yet you learnt all this. There are many such unfortunate people in India as you, but we are sorry to say they are not educated this way, and many of the blind among them support themselves by begging. A very learned man of the name of Dr. Howe educated you, and if there were such men in India much benefit would result. I am your ever well wisher,

(Signed) ——

Bombay: March 18, 1867.

I transmitted this to Boston, U. S., and the remarks in the paper in which it is there inserted show that it is appreciated.

The class then commenced chanting, in a far more melodious manner than I had heard before; I was informed that they were singing some complimentary

verses to myself, composed by the master; this was very gratifying. On receiving a poetical translation of them, I found that they were too laudatory to be here transcribed!

The most remarkable institution for female education existing in India is the Alexandra School, established by the Parsees for their daughters. It owes its existence chiefly to the persevering efforts of Judge Maunockjee Cursetjee, who, having first given his own daughters the benefit of a liberal education, and acquaintance with English literature, desired that others should receive the same advantages. A quarter of a century passed by before the seed he had sown sprang up, and came sufficiently to maturity to enable him to accomplish this most important step. The school is now established on a firm basis. Young Parsee girls, and a few Hindoos, receive an English education from lady teachers, and the short examination I gave them in various branches of knowledge, sufficiently proved their capabilities for instruction, as do also the neatly written English notes, which I have received from them. This school is the first of its kind in the empire, and its actual success will doubtless lead to more extended efforts of the same kind. Some account of these schools, derived from the reports, will be found in a subsequent part of this work.

The Church Mission Schools, especially the Robert Money Institution, I did not neglect to visit; among others was a girls' school taught by an East Indian female teacher, and a school for Jewish boys and girls.

Not only native princes, but independent Ranees, came to Bombay to see for the last time the departing Governor they so much regretted. One of them sent me a present of a bunch of plantains from her own

garden, in token of sympathy with the object of my visit. It was, indeed, a splendid specimen of tropical fruits—above sixty bananas on one stem, requiring to bring it a large basket borne in state by several servants. It reminded one of the grapes of Eschol and the faithful spies. I regretted much that the ripe, luscious condition of the fruit prevented the possibility of carrying it home to Europe.

One morning a missive reached me, stating that the widowed Ranee of the former chief of Colaba was particularly anxious to see me, and had delayed her journey home to give her an opportunity of doing so. She requested that I would be ready the next morning, Monday, Feb. 18, when she would send her secretary in a carriage to fetch me, at 7.30 A.M. I was, of course, ready at the appointed time, and on the way learnt from my escort that this lady greatly felt her dependent position, her husband's territories having been absorbed by the British, from whom she received an income. Her present town residence was a former palace. I was shown into a reception-room hung round with portraits, evidently of native execution. One was pointed out to me as the likeness of a prince, very delicate in aspect. The picture by him I presumed to be his queen, but was informed, on inquiring, that it was his prime minister!

The lady soon entered with her attendants, the gentlemen retiring behind a somewhat transparent screen. She appeared to be a woman of determination, energy, and power, as well as intelligence; one of those Hindoo women of whom I had heard, but a specimen of whom I had not seen, who show that the capabilities of Hindoo women are not inferior, under proper development, to their western sisters. She informed me

that she took a deep interest in female education; that she had watched my course from my first landing, and that she earnestly desired to establish a school, which should perpetuate her name; but that the income allowed her barely sufficed to maintain her court, and that she had not the means. She was pleased to hear that Englishwomen take an interest in their Indian sisters, but the interview was chiefly occupied with discussing the possibility of founding a girls' school. It would be a very gratifying mark of sympathy with a dethroned Ranee, if English ladies would give her the means of fulfilling so laudable a desire, thus showing their sympathy, and doing good in the district. Are there not some in our island who have the ability and the will to do so? The lady looked with interest at my portrait album, and I left with her the last likeness I possessed of our beloved widowed Queen. She threw over me a garland of the golden blossoms of the chrysanthemum, which I still preserve; and I respectfully saluted her on departing, with promises to do anything in my power to further her wishes.

A visit to the Boys' Reformatory, established by David Sassoon many years ago, will be noticed in a subsequent chapter; this school is the only one of the kind in India, and requires especial notice.

The education of young native gentlemen is carefully attended to in Bombay, of which the various schools, some of which I visited, bear witness. The students of the Elphinstone College were at that time preparing for an exhibition of their powers in dramatic recitation, by acting the 'Taming of the Shrew,' before his Excellency the Governor and a select party. I was present at one of the rehearsals, and was astonished at the spirit with which those young Hindoos entered into the

meaning of the original, and at their mastery of correct language and manner. I much regretted being unable to attend the public peformance, when the play was acted most successfully. At its conclusion, one of the actors delivered a suitable epilogue, in which Sir Bartle Frere's approaching departure was alluded to with regret, and a fitting tribute paid to the zeal and kindness with which he had always watched over the interests of the college, and promoted its prosperity.

Dr. Wilson's school and college, in connection with the Free Scotch Presbyterians, does the highest credit to the admirable superintendence it receives from that benevolent and learned man. In this institution there is really no distinction of caste, creed, or nationality. I saw in one class Brahmin boys and the son of a sweeper, one of the very lowest grades; there were many Portuguese (or Goanese, as they would be more correctly termed)—these are particularly anxious to learn English, being much employed in domestic service—Eurasians, Armenians, and Persians. The Parsees have left the school, since two of their boys embraced Christianity many years ago. Among the teachers, however, was a Parsee, as also a Hungarian; and I observed one blind master, who was teaching with great intelligence. In every class the instruction appeared calculated to awaken the mind and exercise the powers, more than I have observed in any other school. The collegiate classes were highly advanced and intelligent; the young men appeared to delight in knowledge for its own sake. Though I was, of course, incapable of understanding a Sanscrit examination given by Dr. Wilson, yet it was quite evident that the students had entered most deeply into the subject, and

had completely mastered it. Photographs of two classes, with which I was favoured by Dr. Wilson, give a favourable impression of their intelligence. The Scripture instruction appeared to be appreciated by the scholars; one class answered very well questions on the Ten Commandments, and others gave evidence of a very fair acquaintance with the practical teaching of the Bible.

Space will not permit me to give an account of the Byculla boarding-school for European and Eurasian orphans, as it presents similar features to those elsewhere of the same kind. A day-school for the children of Europeans and others engaged in work at Colaba, near Bombay, deserves, however, special mention. A camp is situated there, and there is a beautiful memorial church, which has been completed by the exertions of the Rev. Ward Maule. He established the admirable school here, which he kindly conducted me to see. The intelligence and superior deportment of both boys and girls, in the same hall (the girls under female teachers), show how much may be accomplished by judicious efforts under proper instruction.

No distinct religious movement has yet been commenced among the educated natives of Bombay. Though there does not appear to be that strong prejudice against Christianity which exists in some other parts, and there is very friendly intercourse between the native community and some of the missionaries, yet I did not learn that much progress was being made in conversion. On each Sunday morning, during my stay here, I attended with great pleasure the English early service of the Rev. Dhanjibhai Naoroji, which is frequented by many who evidently are not Christians, but who listen with most serious attention. This gentleman, desiring after

his conversion to enter the ministry, accompanied Dr. Wilson on his tour through the 'Lands of the Bible;' and having already received a superior education, he is now occupying a most useful and influential position. He has even lived down the prejudices of those of his countrymen who, at first, felt annoyed by his desertion of the religion of his ancestors. On one occasion, having accepted an invitation to spend an evening at his house, I was much gratified to find assembled, not only several Christians and native converts, but Hindoo gentlemen who were not converted, and Parsees, one of whom brought his wife, who had travelled with him to England: on a subsequent occasion, on the eve of my departure, several of these came to join in a little farewell service, which he conducted in his house.)

On several occasions, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang assembled at his residence a number of native gentlemen—his wife and daughters, with some other ladies, being occasionally present—to hold friendly conference on the topics which had chiefly occupied my attention. What I heard from them confirmed the opinion which I had already formed, that the educated Hindoos have no belief in the idolatry and superstitious ceremonies, to which the uneducated so stongly adhere; but that these are so interwoven with all their domestic and social habits, that they cannot at present emancipate themselves from them. The enlightened appear to be pure theists, and many are of a very religious and devotional spirit, though they feel unable to embrace Christianity. As they appeared willing to converse on the subject, and pleased to find that I recognised with them the great truth that we have all one common Father in Heaven, I ventured to urge upon them to act up to their own convictions, and to unite together in a

pure social worship of their own. On the Sunday after my departure this was commenced. At the house of the doctor, all who desire assemble on Sunday evenings for a prayer-meeting, without distinction of sex or age—the first attempt of the kind in India. These meetings are found to meet their wants, and are increasingly valued by them, so that the place of assembly scarcely suffices for the numbers who desire to attend.

A painful contrast to the quiet holy Sunday morning service in the upper room, where my Parsee friend led the worship, was presented by a scene we witnessed the same evening. A drive near the sea brought us to the entrance of a village, built around the temple of Valukeshwar, near Malabar Point. The descent to this is down the face of a rock, almost perpendicular; houses being built along the zigzag path, in many parts of which are steps, as in our picturesque village of Clovelly, in North Devon. The place is associated in the minds of the Hindoos with marvellous legends, and is much frequented by them; we met in our descent many who had been paying their respects at the shrine. At the bottom is a beautiful well-made tank, with noble flights of steps, called the Arrow Tank, from the legend with which it is connected; having, it is said, being brought into existence by the arrow of Rama, who, thirsting and finding no water, shot it into the ground, and the tank appeared! Our Scriptures do not represent those endowed with miraculous powers as using them for their own benefit. On the sides of the tank are erected pagodas, which we did not enter; but went through narrow streets inhabited by Brahmins, who are supposed to be particularly holy, through their ascetic practices. A more degraded-looking set of men I have rarely beheld, and all the human beings we saw in that village

appeared to be sunk in squalor and filth. A sacred cow was the least repulsive creature we beheld; it had not abandoned the destiny appointed for it by the Creator. Such a spectacle as was presented by that village should rouse one, if stimulus were needed, to shed some light on this benighted land!

Other scenes stimulate and encourage the mind with the feeling that rapid progress is, in many circles of Hindoo society, being actually made. To one of these I was invited on Thursday, February 21. The late Mr. David Sassoon, among other substantial benefits which he conferred on this Presidency, left a sum of money to erect a building for the Mechanics' Institution. The large space opened in the city, by the destruction of the old fort, seemed an excellent site; all preparatory arrangements having been made, and the plans prepared and accepted, the foundation-stone was now to be laid, that the inhabitants of Bombay might once more obtain the services of the Governor they so much esteemed, to perform the ceremonial.

It was a most imposing and interesting sight, whether we observed the rich and picturesque dresses of the various ladies present—Parsees, Jewesses, and English, —the guards of honour and mixed assemblage of official gentlemen, the native crowds round the enclosure, with the bright blue sky above; or whether we thought of the influence of the past upon the present, of the present on the future, and rejoiced that the benevolent Hebrew gentleman was thus, though passed away from among us, preparing the way for an improved condition of his adopted country. When the stone was actually laid, some gentlemen raised a good British hurrah in honour of the occasion, and indeed, within the railings, a fairly hearty one arose: it was, however, strange to one not

yet accustomed to the country to see the multitudes around stand silent and unmoved, without any attempt to join in the acclamation. Such demonstrations are not in harmony with Hindoo habits.

The new building will, it is anticipated, greatly extend the operations of the Bombay Mechanics' Institution, which has been in existence for some time, and stimulate the educated natives to take the share in its direction and support which they are so well qualified to do. The Report for 1867 gives the following account of the institute during the past official year, which shows how much work is being done:—

Library.—Under this head it is shown that 133 works, in 229 volumes, exclusive of periodicals, have been purchased, against 135 works, in 207 volumes, bought in the previous year—thus showing an increase of 22 volumes in the year under report.

The number of volumes of specifications of patents (including indices) in the Library, up to date, is 1,469.

The number of books, periodicals, and newspapers issued during the year was as follows:—

11,152 books or volumes.
5,045 periodicals.
1,450 newspapers.

The periodicals and newspapers added during the year were—the 'Review of Fine Arts,' 'Engineering,' the 'Hindoo Reformer,' and the 'Guzerat Times.' The periodicals and newspapers have been continued as for the previous year.

The President and Directors tender their best thanks to Government and the Director of Public Instruction, as well as to the Rev. W. Brown Keer, Harbour Chaplain, S.P.G., Messrs. E. Chapple, W. J. Addis, C.E., J. M. O'Callahan, G. S. Gardiner, Messrs. Peel, Cassels & Co., the Smithsonian Institution, and other public societies, for their several gratuitous supplies of books, newspapers, and periodicals.

Among the list of books presented to the Library will be seen 25 volumes of the 'Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineers,' being a complete set up to date; these have been brought out to us by Mr. George Berkley, brother of our former distinguished President, Mr. James J. Berkley, C.E.

The sessions were opened in the middle of January, and the Committee were enabled, by the kind co-operation of the following gentlemen, to secure the delivery of public lectures upon the subjects named below:—

The Rev. John Paton, Junior Chaplain, St. Andrew's Church,' on 'The Teachers of the Age.'

The Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., on 'The Oriental Mercantile Classes of Bombay.'

The Rev. W. Brown Keer, Harbour Chaplain, S.P.G., on 'Paris, Past and Present.'

Two other gentlemen had kindly promised to deliver lectures, but they were, unfortunately, unable to fulfil their promises.

These lectures were well attended, and are to be published and circulated among the members, in accordance with the following resolution, passed at the last Annual General Meeting:—

'That each lecture delivered in connection with the institute be printed, and a copy issued to each member, for which he will be charged four annas.'

The most gratifying item of the present Report is the realisation of funds, say to the extent of $1\frac{1}{4}$ lac of rupees,* for the purpose of a building especially for the institute.

The munificent donation of the late David Sassoon (60,000 rupees), and a contribution from the Sassoon Memorial Fund of 25,000 rupees, have been placed in the Government Treasury to the credit of the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute.

These sums will be supplemented by a donation of 43,000 rupees or more in cash from Government, who have also granted a site. The total amount, it is hoped, will be sufficient to build the chief portion as designed, leaving a balance

* 12,500*l.* sterling.

towards the erection of the Lecture Hall, for which it is hoped subscriptions may be obtained at a future date.

Members will remember with satisfaction the kindness of Sir Bartle Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., one of our patrons, in laying the foundation-stone of our new institute on the 21st of February of this year. His presence and eloquent speech on the occasion caused the ceremony to pass off with great *éclat*.

The list of members gives a total of 326 of all classes up to 31st March, 1867:—

	1865-66.		1866-67.	
	Europeans.	Natives.	Europeans.	Natives.
Life members . . .	11	14	11	15
Senior members . .	245	21	252	23
Junior members . .	10	1	10	0
Associates	1	16	1	14
	267	52	274	52

The Secretary, Hurrychund Sudasewjee, Esq., will gladly receive donations of books, reports, engravings, &c. for the institution.

The Mechanics' Institute has hitherto (as would appear from the preceding statement of the number of members), been chiefly fostered by the English residents; but there is another body, of purely native growth, which deserves especial mention—'The Students' Literary and Scientific Society.'

On January 13, 1848, a meeting was held by the advanced students of the Elphinstone Institution, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in the chair, Professors Patton and Reid attending, at the request of the students. The following resolutions were adopted:—

'That a society be formed for the purpose of afford-

ing its members an opportunity of improving in reasoning and composition, and as a means of extending their information in literary, scientific, and general subjects.

'That this society be called, "The Students' Literary and Scientific Society."'

The society was then duly organised, Professor Patton being elected president, and Professor Reid secretary; Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was appointed treasurer. On closing the first session, the Secretary was able to report, that 'the Committee feel great satisfaction in stating that its success has far exceeded their most sanguine expectations.' The Third Report of the society (read on Feb. 10, 1852) shows the practical character and extent of its operations:—

1. Since the opening of the session, on the 3rd of February, 1851, ten monthly meetings have been held, of which the last was devoted exclusively to the election of officers for the present year. Twenty-two resident members have been enrolled within the session. Of these the great majority are *bonâ fide* students, but among them also are young men whose connection with the college has ceased for some years.

2. We shall notice the proceedings of the society under the following heads:—

I. Reading and discussion of English essays.

II. Marathi and Gujarati book-committees.

III. Publication of school-books.

IV. Girls' Schools: (1) Parsi, (2) Marathi-Hindu, (3) Gujarati-Hindu.

V. Boys' Infant-Schools: (1) Parsi, (2) Marathi-Hindu, (3) Gujarati-Hindu.

VI. Branch Societies: (1) Gujarati Dnyan-prasarak Mandali, (2) Marathi Dnyan-prasarak Sabha, (3) Buddhi-vardhak Hindu Sabha.

VII. Library and Museum.

3. Besides two papers by the Secretary on the 'History of

the Elphinstone Institution,' seventeen essays were read and discussed during the term. Of these, seven treated of educational and social subjects, three were historical, three scientific, and four literary and miscellaneous. Among those which excited the greatest interest we may specify the following:—'A short History of the Newspapers in Bombay, English and Native, together with Remarks on the Spirit in which the latter are Conducted,' by Dosabhai Framji (editor of the *Jam-i-Jamshid*); 'On the State of Education among the Parsis of Bombay, before and since the Establishment of the Elphinstone Institution,' by Bomanji Pestanji (Gujarati vice-president for 1852); 'On the Present State of the Banians, with Suggestions for improving their Moral and Social Condition,' by Mohanlal Ranchoddas (now President of the B. H. Sabhâ); and the first of a series of papers 'On the Metallurgy of India,' by Ardeshir Framji, of whose Lectures on Chemistry, in the Gujarati Dnyan-prasarak Society, favourable notice has more than once been taken by the English press.

4. These discussions, in addition to the obvious advantage which they afford the students, in the way of mutual improvement, by inviting them to consider and to argue questions of immediate interest, and of great practical importance, have also the useful effect of bringing and keeping together the former and the present students of the college; thus inducing the juniors to measure swords with their seniors, and to acquire skill by frequent encounters with experienced opponents; and affording the seniors many opportunities of trying their strength in the field, lest they may some day suddenly find themselves unable to cope with the manœuvres of improved science. We are convinced that many are now of our band—some of them gentlemen holding important public posts—who never would have joined us had we, instead of entering the arena of actual life, and oiling our limbs to struggle with stubborn obstinate facts, held formal meetings to discuss some obscure point in the International Law of Europe, or to consider the comparative merits of two or three dead men of ancient times.*

* At the commencement of this society, in June 1848, many pre-

It is to the untiring and enlightened efforts of the Students' Society, that the present state of female education in Bombay is chiefly due, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter. These schools are as good as they can be without trained female teachers. These cannot be obtained in India. It is evident that Parsee and Hindoo gentlemen, however enlightened, cannot establish a Normal Training School for English teachers: the recent monetary crisis at Bombay prevents them from contributing funds for such an object, though their past munificence proves how gladly they would do so, if they could. They earnestly ask the Government to found an institution for training teachers for their girls' schools, as they formerly did for their boys' schools. Surely the Supreme Indian Government does not know what they have already done, if it asks for further pecuniary contributions in proof of their desire to co-operate. The opinion of the Government of the Bombay Presidency, respecting the influence and operations of this society, was thus stated:—

'The voluntary association of the educated youth of Bombay, for the purpose of instructing their countrymen, and of bringing all within their influence to justly appreciate the advantages of education, is very gratifying to Government, as it is honourable to the parties concerned.

'In particular, the spontaneous institution, by the same young men, of female schools, which they also entirely support, must be regarded as an epoch in the history of education at this Presidency, from which it is to be hoped will, in due

dicted that, as in former societies of a similar kind, our time would be wasted in such idle discussions as whether '*Brutus was justified in killing Cæsar?*'—a subject which excited keen debate in the old society, on the ruins of which the present society was founded.—*President's Address*, 1851.

time, be traced the commencement of a rapid, marked, and constant progress.'

A brief account of the well-known exertions of the late Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy in the cause of female education, and in other ways, will be found in a subsequent chapter. In connection, however, with the Students' Society, must be mentioned the important aid given to it by the late venerable Framjee Cowasjee. On Sept. 22, 1855, a meeting was held to consider the subject of raising a testimonial to his memory. The following is a sketch of his career:—

'The late Framjee Cowasjee, Esq., whose recent decease has been a subject of regret with the European and native community of Bombay, belonged to the family of Banajee, which, with that of Wadia and Dadysett, have been long distinguished for their wealth and commercial enterprise; and in works of charity and benevolence have been second only to that very remarkable man, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Knt., whose magnificent fortune has been created by an individual acuteness surpassed only by a munificence which has prompted the erection and endowment of spacious receptacles for the sick and indigent, and the performance through a long life of secret alms—the extent of which is known only to Him before whom they have gone up as a memorial.

'Although Framjee Cowasjee Banajee never had the wealth with which so to provide for the physical comfort of his countrymen, he was very constantly foremost in energy for their mental culture and moral improvement.

'From the time when the genius of Mr. Elphinstone sought to incite the upper class of natives to measures for the introduction of national education, Framjee Cowasjee has been distinguished as the most active promoter of this object. He was an original member of the Elphinstone Institution; and, until advancing years and increasing infirmities induced him to retire, was year after year elected by his countrymen to

represent them at the Board of Education. He was the first Parsee gentleman who educated the females of his family.

'Framjee Cowasjee was one of the twelve natives who first held the Commission of the Peace, and those who have sat on the bench with him, remember the independence and impartiality with which he administered justice.

'He was likewise a member of the Parsee Punchayet, which, so long as the state of society admitted, exercised so beneficial an influence over the morals of the Parsee community, and the records of that institution are stamped with many tokens of his strong sense and excellent judgment.

'The Fire Temple, raised by Framjee Cowasjee and his brothers to facilitate the worship of God after the manner of their fathers, and the Tower of Silence, constructed for the reception of the body after death, at a cost of two lacs of rupees, are permanent memorials of his piety and his respect for the usages of his ancient religion; while the Dhobees' Tank, and the reservoir on the Obelisk Road—to which water is conducted from an estate in Girgaum, the produce of which he set apart to secure this supply of water to the public—betokens that his benevolence was not limited to the fraternity of which he was a member.

'To perpetuate the memory of a man of whose character and deeds the foregoing is a very hasty and imperfect sketch, the Englishman, Mussulman, and the Hindoo, as well as the Parsee, have expressed a desire; and the students, the representatives, at the moment, of those to whose intellectual and moral advancement his life was devoted, have taken the lead of all in commencing this work; and it is with the view of giving each an opportunity of contributing to this object, that this paper is circulated, the particular mode of effecting such being left for future consideration.'

It was a beautiful and natural effect of so much genuine goodness, that, for the first time, persons of all classes and denominations, natives and Europeans, united together to pay respect to his memory. On

Sept. 22, 1852, some English and many native gentlemen, with a large number of the scholars of the Elphinstone Institution, headed by the Assistant Professor, Dadabhai Naoroji, met to consider the most fitting way of testifying their admiration and esteem. The following resolution was carried, having been moved by Professor Patton :—

'That the funds which have been already collected, and such others as may be subsequently added, be appropriated to the formation of a museum in connection with the Students' Literary and Scientific Society; and that this meeting unite with them in requesting Government to erect a building, to contain a lecture-room, a laboratory, museum of arts and industry, and library, and to permit the building to be called the Framjee Cowasjee Institute.'

In moving the above resolution, Professor Patton observed :—

'This mode of commemorating the name of Framjee Cowasjee seems to be peculiarly appropriate. When the Students' Literary and Scientific Society was in its infancy, and when many friends of education were either cold or unfavourable to it, Framjee Cowasjee came forward, and showed his approval of their plans and objects, by presenting a number of lamps, which he heard they required for their meetings. This first gift to the society was the commencement of many others, and to the day of his death he took a warm interest in all their proceedings. During his long career (as you have heard detailed to-day), he was always foremost in every effort to extend education in this country, and his views of what education ought to be were characterised by an elevation, and at the same time a practicality, that could scarcely have been expected from the imperfect education he himself had received. He was one of the chief contributors to the erection of the building in which we are now assembled, and which has, as was anticipated, risen to the rank of a college. Nearly a quarter of a century

ago, when the native community of Bombay met to consider the most appropriate method of attesting their affectionate and respectful sentiments towards the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Framjee Cowasjee, in a speech replete with good sense and sound views, which in our testimonial-giving age might be worthy of attention, proposed that the most satisfactory and durable plan of carrying their wishes into effect, was to found one or two professorships for teaching the English language, the arts, science, and literature of Europe. The Students' Literary and Scientific Society is the direct result of that education, and a proof of the wisdom and foresight that suggested it.'

The value of the influence of this admirable man is well manifested in the following extract from the speech of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji:—

'I cannot refrain myself from expressing my sentiments towards this worthy man. I have had but once for all a talk with him, but the impression that that single visit made upon me, and my friend Ardaseer, shall never wear off. It was for the purpose of asking support to our female schools, and how could I now describe a scene that could only be seen? Yet I shall try. We approached with great trepidation—we knew not what should be the result of the visit; for we knew not the man, and it was our first visit. But Framjee showed that he was always prepared to receive even a child with pleasure that brought good tidings of any kind. Many were the sound advices he gave us as to our conduct in the undertaking—many hopes did he raise in us, and showed great concern that he could not stretch out as good an helping hand as he was wont to do before. His advices, however, were more worth than anything else, and we have now the opportunity of expressing our obligations for the benefit with which we followed those advices: trifling as they might often appear, they are the forerunners of great things to come. Trifling as the table-lamp present made to the society might appear, it was the

kindler of the first spark of hope, that an earnest desire and endeavour to do an useful thing shall never fail to be properly appreciated.'

Many difficulties occurred before the completion of the plan, but on February 22, 1864, the foundation-stone of the projected memorial building was laid by his friend, the Hon. Juggonath Sunkersett.

The establishment of the Bengal Social Science Association at Calcutta, and the anticipations of its usefulness which were there entertained, had been frequently the subject of conversation at Bombay, with many enlightened native as well as English gentlemen. My increased observation of the country led me to perceive more clearly the many ways in which such a society, carried on with spirit and energy, would be of very great importance. A number of gentlemen who felt an interest in the subject met, on February 23, in the rooms of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the Town Hall. The Hon. Mr. Justice Gibbs having been called to the chair, I gave some account of the nature, objects, and working of the British Social Science Association. After remarks from some gentlemen, it was proposed by Sir A. Grant, Bart., and seconded by Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee: 'That it is desirable that a Social Science Association should be established for the Presidency of Bombay, to be styled the Bombay Social Science Association, on the same principles and plans as have been adopted in the Social Science Association of Great Britain, and subsequently in the United States and the continent of Europe, and more recently in Calcutta.'

The formation of a sub-committee of English and native gentlemen, to draw up rules and regulations, and take steps towards the establishment of the association,

was proposed by Dr. Bhau Daji, and seconded by the Hon. B. H. Ellis. The association was thus regarded as virtually established.

I had promised my friends at Ahmedabad to pay them a farewell visit; and on Tuesday, February 26, at 7 A.M., I set out on my long journey. The country was not so fresh and green as when we saw it in October, after the rains; it was not marked by any object of special interest, except meeting some native friends at Surat, and my former hosts, with a bridal party, at the previous station; not until 10 P.M. did the train reach Ahmedabad. My friends, the Tagores had not returned from Calcutta, Mr. Tagore having been obliged to request an extension of his sick leave. The collector (Mr. Oliphant) and his lady had kindly invited me to make their house my home, and were waiting to receive me. The collector's office, or cutcherry, over which is his residence, occupies the site of an old Mahometan palace, and is surrounded by a large compound, bounded on one side by the ancient royal garden, which still produces excellent vegetables; of these I had agreeable experience. A dish of green peas in February reminded one of being in a tropical climate. The weather was indeed beginning to be very hot, and we were not refreshed by the sea-breezes, as in Bombay. The foliage in the garden was, however, of the most exquisite and varied colour in the morning sun, and invited a sketch of it from the balcony. It was bounded by part of the city wall, and what appeared to be a minaret; but I was informed that this was the chimney of a factory, of which my hostess had recently laid the foundation-stone. Such objects are not in themselves good in a picture, nor do they awaken very poetical ideas; but this marked a grand step in civilisation, and

was well worthy of commemoration. Other improvements had taken place in the few months which had elapsed since my last visit. Some of the native ladies, who had before hesitated to call on Mrs. Oliphant, as her residence was over the public office, had been to see her, and had walked with her in the garden; on my present visit, between twenty and thirty native ladies spent an afternoon with me, on Mrs. Oliphant's invitation, and expressed themselves as much gratified—indeed, they showed no haste to depart. A new difficulty occurred at this party; some of the ladies spoke only Marathi, others only Guzerathi. Fortunately, two young gentlemen, relatives of some of the visitors, came as interpreters; we therefore ranged the ladies on different sides of the room, each party with its own interpreter. The difficulties arising from the existence of so many languages are very great. Here the native ladies are beginning to realise the value that the acquisition of English would be to them, and gladly accepted the offer of Mrs. Oliphant to give them instruction in it, on her return from her approaching journey in 'the district.' All such plans, however, are doomed to disappointment in India. The collector was soon after transferred to another station, and the projected work in Ahmedabad for the present fell to the ground! Dr. Wyllie, too, has been since called away to join the Abyssinian army! The value felt by the natives for his services was shown in a farewell meeting.*

Some drives through the native streets were full of interest, both in indicating much skill and some taste in the decorations of the houses, and as giving us an opportunity of seeing many beautiful remains of Mahometan edifices; we observed also, in many parts, marks

* *Vide* Appendix B.

of improvement, old dilapidated buildings having given place to well-arranged streets and houses. One morning drive was particularly striking. Having seen splendid specimens of the gorgeous gold brocade, or kincob, several pieces of which were sent to the Paris Exhibition, I was desirous of seeing the factory where it is produced; and the collector kindly made arrangements with the proprietor for an early visit the next morning. After passing through the better streets, we threaded our way through narrow lanes, in vain looking for anything like a factory; at last we stopped at a common poor-looking house, and with difficulty ascended some stairs to a miserable loft; this was the factory! Four looms were at work there, of so primitive a construction, and clumsy a make, that if one could have been transported to Paris with its workers, it would have been among the greatest curiosities of the Exhibition. The men and lads who were employed as draw-boys, in their semi-nude and uncivilised condition, totally ignorant, seemed beings of another sphere from those for whom their manufacture was intended. The merchants buy the gold thread and silk, and pay these men very trifling wages, on which they can barely subsist. One clever bright little fellow, with shaven head, laughed with intense glee at the sight of so strange a sight as English ladies in that secluded loft; another boy of fourteen was so clever, that he had already mastered the whole art, and could weave as well as a man. These bright lads were growing up immured in this loft, without any education, or opportunity of improvement.

An oil-factory was at the next door, where the seed was crushed in a gigantic cumbersome press, requiring far more labour than our machinery. We ventured into the interior of the house, where a woman, removing

a quantity of clothing from a sort of hammock, disclosed a young baby to us; the cramped position it was in, explained to me why most of the children I see in the schools have such narrow chests. We had that morning a most instructive glimpse of the native in the lower circles of society.

February is the great month for weddings, and many festivities were going on. One day we were invited to two. Of the first, a Brahmin's wedding, I will say nothing, having heard that the native gentleman who took us there, incurred blame from his people on that account. The afternoon wedding was to be celebrated at the house of the Hon. Premabhai Hemabhai. He is a Jain, but the Government requires all Hindoos to conform to their national law respecting marriage, and therefore he was obliged to have the aid of a Brahmin in certain parts of the ceremony. This was to be a very grand affair, and about 2,000 persons were expected. We first went to see the bridegroom's procession pass, from the balcony of a friend's house. It was very long, and somewhat straggling, extending more than the whole length of the street, and the attempt at music was nothing more than loud noise. One would suppose that Hindoos have 'no music in their souls', which is certainly not the case, though it may be undeveloped. Here and there in the procession was a richly-caparisoned horse, covered with gorgeous brocade, on which was seated a small boy, likewise splendidly decorated; he was doubtless the son and heir of a family, the male members of which walked beside him. At length came the bridegroom, gaily dressed, and supported by his friends; he was closely covered with a golden veil. We then hurried on to the place of meeting, and found the house crowded with male

guests, who, to my surprise, were being driven out into the garden somewhat unceremoniously. This was to clear the reception-rooms for the bride's procession, which was approaching. They speedily filled the large hall, seated themselves in native fashion on the floor, as close together as possible, and availed themselves of the rare opportunity to indulge in social converse simultaneously, producing a volume of discordant sound, which was somewhat overpowering to my unaccustomed ears. Our host being perfectly unable to silence the assembly—which, indeed, would have been almost cruel under the circumstances—kindly withdrew us to an upper room, where we had a full opportunity of observing the busy scene which was passing around, in the illuminated garden. After a time, the special ceremonies of the occasion began. The bridegroom and his friends knocked at the door and claimed his bride, a young girl closely covered with a sari, but without ornaments: she was herself the jewel. A number of ceremonies were performed, when he had overcome feigned opposition, and effected an entrance. A Brahmin took a leading part in these; he was an unprepossessing old man, and took care to secure rupees, in the midst of each critical part, before he would complete it. There was nothing in anyone indicating to our minds reverence or devotion: they were intended to symbolise the part which was to be taken by each in their domestic duties. The bridegroom placed presents of clothing on the bride, and secured a return from her family, by holding firmly the robe of the mother until she bestowed something on him; that not being considered sufficiently costly, he refused it with an expression of contempt. After more than two hours, most of the company withdrew; but each expected to receive, on depart-

ing, a cocoanut from the bride's father, and one from the bridegroom's; 4,000 of this fruit were thus distributed.

The next day, the same native gentleman gave a large party at his house, in honour of his English friends, when we saw the young bride unveiled, as she had not yet been removed from her paternal home. There was some excellent native music on this occasion, performed by hired male musicians on stringed instruments, which they accompanied with the voice; we, of course, withdrew at about eleven o'clock, before the *nautch* dancing commenced.

On Friday, March 1, a public meeting was held, to receive some account of the progress of my work, and the success of my journey in the other parts of India. Here, as elsewhere, a deep and evident interest was felt, and expressed to me publicly and privately, in the establishment of a Female Normal School. The Judge of the Small Cause Court, Mr. Gopal Row, was in the chair; and as he was anxious to obtain further information from me, on this and on other subjects, I requested him to bring his friends to confer with me; and at midday, on March 3, a large number assembled in the Collector's drawing-room, headed by the Judge and the Hon. Member of the Legislative Council, who presented me the following address, which had been planned after we withdrew from the meeting, and then rapidly and beautifully executed. It is a remarkable and very significant circumstance, that it is signed by eleven native ladies, as well as the principal native gentlemen of the town. It is as follows:—

To Miss Mary Carpenter.

Madam,—We, the undersigned inhabitants of Ahmedabad, cannot permit you to leave this town without expressing our

warmest acknowledgments for your disinterested, praiseworthy, and benevolent exertions for the welfare of your sex in India. Your visit to India particularly for the furtherance of native female education, your travel to several Presidencies for the purpose of learning the causes which keep it back, and determining some remedies for its advancement, and your free intercourse with us, happily evince an uncommon interest in the welfare of the natives of this country—namely, such interest as has scarcely been hitherto taken by any European gentleman or lady. We admit that want of education and proper training has placed our females, in certain respects, in a disagreeable position, which we most earnestly wish to improve; and we are extremely rejoiced to see that this most important subject has drawn your best attention, the result of which will, we have every reason to hope, be soon attended with success. We therefore feel in no small degree obliged for the self-sacrifice which your aim and labours involve, and beg publicly to convey to you this expression of gratitude on behalf of this city, and even of the province in which it is situated; earnestly trusting that the same Providence, who has given you strength to exert for the welfare of our women, may spare you to see your exertions coming to a successful issue. May you live to see the system of female education completely carried out throughout the length and breadth of this great country! With earnest wishes for your long life, and safe return to your own country, we beg to remain, Madam,

Yours ever sincerely,

GOPAL ROW, and others.

Ahmedabad: March 2, 1867.

We then discussed the subject of the Female Normal School, for the establishment of which they had sent in a memorial to Government; they were anxious to understand some particulars of my plan in connection with the residence of the English teachers, which had perplexed them, as they are unable as yet to compre-

hend the real intellectual as well as domestic position which women hold in our country. They accepted the idea, though with some difficulty, that I myself, without the help of any gentleman, keep all the accounts of the Red Lodge Reformatory for more than 60 girls under sentence, as well as prepare all the necessary Government returns and despatches; they evidently considered me an exceptional case, of whom, after such a journey, almost anything might be predicted. But how could these girls be kept safely without police or guard? How could the cooking be managed without menservants? The bare idea that two or three girls could cook and even bake for the establishment, was amazing to them. The washing, surely, must be put out to be done by men? The astonishment of the worthy gentleman was extreme, when I informed him that the girls not only did all their own washing, but helped the income of the school by taking it in to execute. The Judge still seemed to think that there must be some weak point which he had not discerned, and exclaimed, 'How about the bullock-cart?' That we should condescend to walk about, was a thing which had not entered his imagination.

After I had explained everything fully, the Judge thus wrote in my book:—'Miss Carpenter's plan of a female training-school and social reform I highly approve. I hope the plans will shortly be carried out, and the community of Ahmedabad will not only highly appreciate, but support them. Miss Carpenter twice visited this place, for the purpose of considering the means of promoting female education and social reform. I have had great pleasure in hearing the plans explained fully by Miss Carpenter. I think that the whole community approves of the plans entirely.'

The assembled party was anxious to hear something respecting the proposed Social Science Association in Bombay, and entered warmly into the idea of forming in their city a branch, which might materially help on the work. They were indeed fully able to co-operate, having among them native gentlemen of various professions and influential positions. One of them inscribed in my book the following statement of his opinion, to which the others appended their names: 'I beg also to state that I sympathise very much with the plan of a Social Science Association suggested by Miss Carpenter. I think it will do good to our country to have these associations formed in India. It is hoped that an association will soon be set on foot in Ahmedabad.'

On the next day, March 4, I was again to take leave. I had desired to visit Baroda, to observe the condition of a city under native rule. But learning that the English family who might have given me a home were out of town, I not unwillingly abandoned the idea; and on March 4 proceeded to Surat, where the Mission House was kindly opened to receive me, by Mr. and Mrs. Wallace. It was truly delightful to observe how much this Christian family is valued by the native community. Without having received his faith, they feel the missionary to be their friend, and come to him with confidence whenever they desire his advice and aid.

The same evening, a meeting was held in the Public Library, at which I gave a full explanation of my proceedings; an abstract of this is contained in my published 'Addresses.'* On the following day, a few of the most influential natives met at the Mission House, to consider the importance of forming a branch of the

* Pp. 53–56.

projected Bombay Social Science Association, and formed themselves into a committee for the purpose.

On Tuesday, March 5, I had the pleasure of seeing the first cotton-factory I had met with in India, and I hailed it as an attempt to establish an important manufacture of what may be made a grand native staple production. The manager of this factory is one of those men whom one may proudly recognise as a true Englishman, in whatever part of the world one may find him. He had brought the iron framework of the factory from England, and had himself erected the whole building with native labour. When the masons were afraid of going up the high chimney in the course of erection, he went up himself, and they confidingly followed him. In fact, he bore the same testimony that I had received from many, that the natives work well under the English, if treated with kindness; they fully recognise the superiority of the British character, and yield to its guidance with willingness. But his feelings were much shocked by the treatment of low-caste women, who were employed as masons' labourers; they had to mount ladders carrying hods, and were violently abused if they happened to touch the men. 'What would be thought of such treatment of women in England?' I exclaimed, indignantly. 'People at home know nothing of this poor country,' was his reply, —a remark full of deep and painful truth. The factory appeared to be worked like those in England, as far as it is completed, and has, besides, a preliminary stage for cleaning the cotton from any seeds which may remain, and which might become very injurious, by breeding maggots. In this, and in many other parts of the work, a number of women and children of low condition were employed, who thus obtained valuable

training, as well as the means of improving their condition. It required very great patience and forbearance to bring them into any degree of order, and to induce them to attend with regularity, as all of us can understand who have been accustomed to work with a similar class at home. Yet it was astonishing what an improvement they made after a time, and this was a sufficient recompense to the worthy manager. He much regretted that a Factory Act is not in operation in India, that the children may be taught to read as well as to work.

There are now six cotton-factories working at Broach: had I been aware of this, I should not have passed through without visiting them, and observing the effects of them on the community.

Before leaving Surat, I was invited to visit some native ladies in their homes: my friend and I returned gaily decked with garlands of flowers, and I was enriched by the ladies with beautiful specimens of native work. The fragrant sandalwood reminds me now, most agreeably, that I have never been privileged to witness more grateful feeling, than among my Hindoo friends.

On my return to Bombay, on March 6, I found that Sir Bartle Frere and family had departed, amidst the greatest marks of respect and regard from all the inhabitants; my former hosts also had left for England. Other friends kindly received me.

There were still several objects of interest to visit, of which space compels only a brief mention.

The School of Art presents many peculiar features, different from similar institutions in the other Presidencies. A reference will be made to it in a future chapter.

The House of Correction received a visit, which left

nothing but a most painful impression. It had been condemned several years ago, but was still standing, though in a state which seemed to defy all improvement. In this—which is, we may hope, the worst and most insecure jail in the Presidency—are English life-prisoners, apparently in a state which could not but spread insubordination through the whole premises.

An Eye Hospital was well calculated to excite admiration of British skill and benevolence; it was brought into its present admirable condition by Dr. Hunter. Here, as everywhere, was evident a great want of trained nurses, which was much felt by the medical officers.

(A Parsee gentleman conducted me over an institution established by members of that body for the benefit of emigrants of their own race from Persia; these are encouraged to come to Bombay, where they soon obtain remunerative employment. The establishment appears very well managed. Near it is a Parsee poor-house, established also by themselves, that none of their people may be without the means of living. It was, however, a very painful spectacle to see women, suffering and helpless from physical misfortune, without any female attendant. On inquiring why some Parsee ladies did not come to read to them, and minister kindly to them, I was informed that the regulations of the place do not allow of the visits of ladies; these were made at a time when Parsee ladies would not have ventured thus into public, and were intended to prevent English ladies from attempting to proselytise. It is to be hoped that a change of circumstances in both these respects will lead to a change of the rule.)

(A Parsee place of worship was near, but this visitors are not permitted to enter. It appeared to be a plain building, with windows protected by iron bars; a fire

of sandalwood is kept always burning, and round it worshippers stand when engaged in prayer. The Tower of Silence I did not wish to inspect. The sight of the carrion-birds perched at the top, waiting for their prey, was sufficiently repulsive.

The cotton-factories of Bombay I was, unfortunately, prevented from visiting as I desired, though preparations had been kindly made for my doing so.

On Sunday afternoon, March 10, my kind hosts, Mr. and Mrs. L——, took me a delightful drive to Bandora, where are some Roman Catholic mission boarding-schools. That for boys is at present under repair and enlargement, and cannot therefore be fairly spoken of. That for girls is under the care of ladies, who are German nuns. It was very striking to observe the effects of the refining influence they exercise on coarse rough natures, as evidenced in the sweetness of their singing. The greater part of the washing was performed on the premises, the good nuns inducing the girls to do this useful work by their own personal example. I regretted that this was the only opportunity that was afforded me, while in India, of seeing a Roman Catholic school.

On Wednesday, March 13, I was requested to attend a meeting of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, which was held in the hall of the Elphinstone Institution, to receive an address. It was as follows:—

To Miss Mary Carpenter.

'Madam,—In the name of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, the Committee of Management bid you heartily welcome to Bombay. The record of your fame as a sincere, zealous, and disinterested friend and active wellwisher of mankind, had travelled to this land long before your arrival amongst us. To the truly noble and self-sacrificing order of

British womanhood, to which you belong, India owes a deep debt of gratitude; but your claims on our respect, admiration, and gratitude are enhanced by their hereditary character—by the fact of your being the philanthropic daughter of a philanthropic father, who was at once a friend and admirer, colleague and biographer, of the greatest of India's modern sons, and one of the worthiest of her reformers. The names of Rajah Rammohun Roy and Dr. Carpenter are indissolubly united in our grateful memory; and it is no small happiness to us to have this opportunity of conveying an expression of our heartfelt regard to one who has so nobly emulated the spirit of her father in his earnest desire for the welfare of the people of this land. But, Madam, there is another and more special circumstance, in the occasion which has called us together this day, that imparts a peculiar character to your claims on our respect and attention. This society, as you are aware, was founded by students and alumni of the Elphinstone College for self-improvement, under the direction of zealous and respected professors and teachers, seventeen years ago. Their discussions on social and other matters relating to their countrymen soon bore one excellent fruit. The students were led by an irresistible enthusiasm—the result of their English education—to do something practically for the good of their country; and, encouraged by their worthy teachers, they resolved on commencing the task of female education amongst the higher classes in Bombay. This they attempted in a truly self-sacrificing spirit, having undertaken to act as gratuitous teachers during their leisure hours. These disinterested efforts speedily opened the way to female education, and the prejudices against it rapidly disappeared amongst almost every section of native society. Sympathy for the cause, and support in the shape of funds, soon followed, and the management of female schools has since been the society's chief care. We do not flatter ourselves to have done much in a cause in which our best interests are so intimately connected. On the contrary, we are sensible that the work has only begun, and that renewed efforts will have to be made by us at every step, to overcome

the barriers which ignorance, joined to the prevailing apathy for improvement, opposes to its progress. Our pupils are girls, who, owing to a want of qualified female teachers, to the custom of early marriages, to social prejudices, and to a variety of other circumstances, leave the school early. Our task thus remains only partially accomplished; but, by the Divine blessing, we intend to persevere in our humble efforts, and cannot but feel that such devoted friends of our sacred cause as yourself, by their love and sympathy, zeal, knowledge, and experience, in pointing out such remedies as the comparison of our condition with that of other countries might suggest, affords us a sure ground of hope for the success of our labours. And with this conviction, it would have been unpardonable on the part of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, were we not to take the opportunity of freely disclosing to you our hopes and fears, in advancing a cause which you have so near at heart. Before concluding, we would request your acceptance, along with this address, of a copy of the Society's Reports, and your permission to endow a scholarship, in your name, in connection with our schools. The members of this society have, in accordance with your suggestions (in which they heartily concur), forwarded, in conjunction with others, a memorial to Government, for the establisment of training normal schools for female teachers; and they will not rest till this great want in the educational scheme is supplied, with or without the assistance of Government. With profound respect, we beg to subscribe ourselves,

Yours faithfully,
BHAU DAJI, President,
VISHWANATH NARAYEN MUNDLIK, Secretary,
and others.'

In my reply,* while thanking them for their kindness, and touching on several points suggested by the address, I endeavoured still more fully to explain my views of a Female Normal School.

* *Vide* 'Addresses,' pp. 59–64.

On the following day, I gave a long address on female education to a large company, chiefly composed of native gentlemen, at the residence of the Hon. Munguldass Nuthoobhoy. It is evident, then, that every one had ample opportunity of being acquainted with my views on this important subject.*

After so much physical and mental exertion, I accepted with great pleasure an invitation from my hosts, to accompany them, for a couple of days' refreshment before sailing, to their agreeable country seat at Matheran. This place is situated on the top of one part of a grand mountain-chain on the way to Poona, and is 2,000 feet above the level of the sea. On Friday, March 15, we arrived, at about eight o'clock in the evening, at Narell, the nearest railway-station; there, for the first time, I was obliged to enter a palanquin, to ascend the steep zigzag road, which leads to the summit of the mountain. This experience was very far from being an agreeable one—the position, as well as the jolting, being most unpleasant. At length, after above two hours, on emerging from a wood, fragrant with jasmine, into the clear moonlight, we found ourselves before a pleasant villa, where dinner was spread for us in a style nearly as complete as if we had been at home. The servants had been sent before, to prepare everything for our reception. Opposite our windows was a dim vision of a mountain range across a deep ravine, which inspired me with high anticipations for the morrow. I did not waste an hour of morning light, but went early into the garden, where flowers cultivated in England—geraniums, petunias, heliotropes, &c.—diffused their fragrance through the balmy air; a refreshing breeze, the singing of birds, and the glorious view of the moun-

* *Vide* 'Addresses,' pp. 65–82.

tains, rising like gigantic castles in front, bathed in the golden hue of the morning sun, made this a most fascinating spot. An attempt to portray some of these glories with the pencil, made me a willing captive under the verandah, till the tempered heat of the sun permitted us to go forth to explore this wonderful place. We made Panorama Point our goal, where indeed a marvellous view burst upon us on every side, over the parched expanse of a burnt-up plain, bounded by mountains.

Sunday, March 17, was the last Sabbath I spent in India: far from temples made by human hands, we could worship in this glorious oratory of the mountains and the wooded valley, and offer the incense of a grateful heart to Him from whom all blessings flow!

Another lovely evening ride through the woods brought us to the little Chinese settlement of discharged convicts, where nature and art combined to make exquisitely neat and well-stocked vegetable gardens, with the produce of which these people maintain themselves, and have formed a little civilised community. And then we emerged from the thick foliage, and again beheld the extensive plains and the precipitous outcrops of the mountain ranges. It was very strange to see a telegraphic wire threading its way through the trees in this remote spot, to carry its messages to and from the Government stations.

We had to start betimes, at five o'clock the next morning; and our bearers, who are very independent of what we consider the necessaries of life, were ready and waiting for us, as they had merely lain down in the garden overnight. I begged for an open chair instead of a palanquin, to enjoy the grand and lovely views, varying at every moment; some bare trunks in the

woods, and tinted leaves, reminded me almost of a fine autumnal morning in England. The bearers were gay and happy, singing as they went. I much wished, but in vain, to speak to them, and exchange words of sympathy in the beauty of the morning, which was greeting us all with fresh tokens of the Father's love.

Again the train swiftly carried us into the midst of busy Bombay! And now I had to bid a last adieu to scenes of deep and varied interest, and also to my kind friends. Many of them accompanied me to the steamer on the morning of the 20th of March.

On the eve of my departure, I was invited to the Town Hall, where the following address was presented to me:—

To Miss Mary Carpenter.

'Madam,—We, the undersigned native inhabitants of Bombay, beg leave to approach you, on the eve of your departure from these shores, with an expression of our sincere respect and admiration for your noble and self-denying exertions in the cause of enlightenment and humanity, and of our high sense of gratitude for your earnest wishes and endeavours for the welfare of our country and countrywomen, of which your presence among us, away from your distant home, is not the least remarkable instance.

'But, Madam, your name and fame for disinterested and merciful philanthropy, and labours in the interests of the unfortunate and the ignorant, especially of the helpless of your own sex, were known long before your esteemed person was seen in these parts; and your arrival was heralded by your touching account of the "Last Days of Rajah Rammohun Roy," which recalls the history of that great reformer of ours, of his friendship with distinguished Englishmen of the last generation (and, among others, with your own philanthropic father), and reminds us of the times, principles, and circumstances which gave rise to the beginning of what promises to be the great

socio-religious movement of modern India under the enlightened rule of Britain.

'Since your landing in this country, you have illustrated your interest both in the education of our females, and in our social and religious condition. Your movements, while among us, have given us an idea of the energy and activity which have characterised your life for the last quarter of a century. In a short space of time, you have made a tour of all the Presidency towns, and also seen other places; you have conferred with our highest Government authorities, and imparted a definiteness to their interest in the subject of native female education. You have also personally spoken and lectured to us, and have brought your experience in the matter of female education in England to bear on the same task before us, by submitting suggestions for our approval and adoption. We have not had much cause to differ from you in your views on any question. We regret, however, that the state of our society has not been such as to enable us to take advantage of your experience and of your suggestions. The present depressed condition of this city has also debarred its merchants from benefiting, with their wonted liberality and support, the objects so earnestly advocated by you. In this regret you will, doubtless, participate with us. But it is not the amount of actual results achieved that we have to consider in dealing with your claims on our respect, admiration, and gratitude. These claims, measured by the excellence and disinterestedness of your motives towards us, and the amount of trouble and sacrifice you have borne on our behalf, are indeed great. And we feel we should be wanting in common duty to a benefactress of the country, were we to permit you to leave these shores without receiving some recognition from us. We, therefore, request you will be pleased to accept this address, as an expression of our grateful appreciation of your kind wishes and persevering exertions on behalf of our wellbeing in general, and the enlightenment of our females in particular, and also of our sincere esteem and admiration for your life and character generally. We have no doubt our country and its welfare will

always occupy a share of your attention, and we trust we shall never forget the name and the philanthropic labours of Miss Mary Carpenter! With great respect, we subscribe ourselves to be, Madam, your humble servants and admirers.'

It was then announced that a silver tea-service would be presented to me as a memorial of my visit.*

Thus concluded my parting words †:—

'And now I must say farewell to my friends, for the time is come when I must return to my own home. I have been asked to stay longer here, and many have said that I ought to remain, and carry out the work which I have begun. But I have said—No. If I have been successful in rousing any persons, they will be able to carry on the undertaking I have commenced. I do not think it necessary to stay, when there is so highly intellectual and enlightened a native population to go on with the work. . . .

'Your address has lamented that you have not, at present, pecuniary means to carry out my plans as you desire. Now, I did not come here expecting that you would, and I do not ask you for pecuniary help; all I request is your co-operation. I am sure, from what I know of you, that you do not wish England to assist you in a pecuniary way, but that what you do hope is, that England will give you its sympathy in your work. I am glad to be able to state that which will stimulate England in its sympathy, and to bring before members of the English Government, with whom I have the honour to be acquainted, the wants of, and the means for improving, female education in India. I hope, too, that I may be the means of inducing ladies of superior minds and education to come out to India, and help you in the training of your ladies. I shall then be carrying on at home the work which has been begun here.

'In conclusion, I hope that if any native gentlemen feel that there is any way in which I can assist them, they will com-

* *Vide* Appendix C. † *Vide* 'Addresses,' pp. 86–91.

municate it to me; and, on the other hand, if there is any information which you think will be useful in England, you will forward it to me.

'I must now say farewell! I leave your shores with deep regret, but with many agreeable recollections of the kindness with which I have been received; these will always be treasured by me! I hope you will not forget me!'

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS—RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT—SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN.

A THOUGHTFUL perusal of the foregoing brief narrative of the most striking features of my eventful six months spent in India, will probably have led the reader to the following conclusions:—

1*st*.—That the British public is, generally, very little informed of the actual condition and wants of that great country and its inhabitants, beyond what may be gathered from official or from missionary reports.

2*ndly*.—That a more familiar knowledge of India is most important to both countries, not only as leading the way to that social intercourse which ought to exist between the two races, but as preparing for improvements which can be made only through the medium of friendly confidence.

3*rdly*.—That the time is come when the Hindoos gladly welcome such friendly intercourse with Europeans, provided this is conducted with the care which true courtesy suggests, not to wound the feelings of others, or to interfere with social customs.

4*thly*.—That there are many ways in which the English can give very important help to their Hindoo fellow-subjects, and especially in which Englishwomen can help to raise those of their own sex in India.

5thly.—That the progress of events renders improvements in some branches of legislation greatly needed, and that those who cannot directly promote these, may, indirectly, do good by drawing public attention to them.

With respect to the two first of these positions, a few general remarks may be offered.

The impression which prevails in England of the unhealthiness of India, and of the dangers and difficulties of the route, I have found to be much exaggerated. Such impressions led to great apprehensions being entertained by my friends respecting my own undertaking the journey; yet I not only did not suffer any serious inconvenience on the voyage, or during my stay in the country, but found my health permanently benefited by the relaxation and change. Instead of finding the English resident gentlemen and ladies looking sallow, as it is usually supposed they are, there was among them, generally, as great an appearance of health as at home. I found many who had been twenty or thirty years in the country without any injury to their health, and several preferred the climate of India, as well as the way of living, to that in England. I made specific inquiries, from both gentlemen and ladies, respecting the course they pursued thus to preserve their health. Their replies were always to the same effect—viz., they adopted regular and moderate diet, gave proper attention to sanitary precautions, and, above all, had full occupation of both body and mind. Ladies who enjoyed excellent health, after a residence of a dozen years in India, spoke strongly on the importance of sustaining mental action, and avoiding the indulgence of sitting in dark rooms, and regular midday siestas. I did not hear of a single death of an English resident while I was in India.

There are, of course, many to whose constitutions the country proves injurious, and there are still more whose health has suffered from over-exertion; such cases only prove the necessity of caution. With respect to young children, it certainly does appear that, under the present conditions of Indian society, they can very rarely be brought up with safety in that country; the climate appears generally injurious to the young of our race; and, besides, they are exposed to great and almost inevitable evil, in consequence of the very injudicious treatment, both moral and physical, which they receive from the native ayahs. The wilfulness and deceit which children thus learn, induce a state of fretfulness which is most injurious to the health, as well as to the character. The necessity existing for sending children home for education, and thus dividing families, is the grand hindrance to the settlement of the English in India. No change in this respect can be anticipated while the present social condition of domestic service in that country remains. It is not, then, a matter for surprise, that very few of the English residents, if any, except a few missionaries, look forward to make in India a permanent home, or a residence any longer than their business or official position renders necessary. While there, a change of locality may at any time be appointed, and a passage to England is continually occurring, whenever necessity compels, or official leave permits; all these things are great hindrances to improvement in the country. Such changes I frequently observed during my short stay, and the number of English friends whom I met in India, and have seen or heard of in England since my return, is very great. This, from the circumstances of the case, is likely to be a permanent, not an accidental condition. No

probability then existing of a settled stationary interest being excited in Indian social progress—tending to the creation of an enlightened public opinion, which may stimulate and aid improvement, and co-operate with the native community as they may desire—it becomes very necessary that the British public at home should become, generally, so much acquainted with India and the Hindoos, as to be able to lend the help of their sympathy when required, and give support and encouragement to social progress in India, by an informed public opinion at home.

That the Hindoos warmly appreciate friendly treatment from Europeans, was very evident to me from all I saw and heard while in the country. The tone of society in the Bombay Presidency, and their feeling towards the late Governor (Sir Bartle Frere), who has done so much to promote it, sufficiently confirms this. Indeed, wherever I travelled, I found English residents whose official position led them into cordial relations with the natives, and who spoke most kindly of them. Especially did the Hindoos appear to value friendly intercourse where it evidently sprang from kind personal feeling towards themselves as a nation, from a genuine regard for them as fellow-subjects, and as the children of our common Father. The contrary is, however, but too often the case. I was shielded, by my position and circumstances, from the mortification of witnessing in my countrymen unworthy conduct towards those whom common humanity should lead them to treat with compassion, and as weaker brethren; but I was painfully aware on many occasions, and from what I heard around me, that such is too often the case. The natives are naturally very sensitive to this, and the sense of being disliked by those who are wiser and stronger than themselves, increases the suspicious-

ness of their nature, and makes them insensible to the real benefits which the British Government is constantly conferring on them. It is, indeed, greatly to be regretted, that the eloquent Keshub Chunder Sen should have ground to speak as follows, in his celebrated lecture, 'Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia':—

'As one deeply interested in the social and spiritual welfare of my country, I cannot but be aggrieved to see that, owing to unjustifiable conduct on both sides, there is a most injurious isolation between us and that nation, with whose aid we are destined to rise in the scale of nations, and from whom we have to learn the inestimable riches of Christ's sublime morality. Among the European community in India, there is a class who not only hate the natives with their whole heart, but seem to take a pleasure in doing so. The existence of such a class of men cannot possibly be disputed. They regard the natives as one of the vilest nations on earth, hopelessly immersed in all the vices which can degrade humanity, and bring it to the level of the brutes. They think it mean even to associate with the natives.'—(P. 12.)

Again he says, in the same discourse:—

'Many a European adventurer in this country seems to believe, that he has a right to trample on every unfortunate "nigger" with whom he comes in contact. This he believes to be heroism, and in this he seeks glory! But he forgets that to kick and trample upon one who is inferior in strength is not heroism, but base cowardice. What glory is there in abusing and maltreating a poor native? What glory is there in whipping and scourging a helpless native to death, under the infatuating influence of brutal anger? Is this military prowess?—or is it Christian zeal? Evidently it is neither. If the European is at all anxious for the glory of his country and his God, he ought to seek it in a better and more generous treatment of the natives. If he is conscious of his superiority,

a native should be all the more an object of his compassion and tender regards, and surely pity from a Christian heart he has every reason to expect!'—(P. 16.)

We should blush indeed for our country, that such utterances from a Hindoo remain uncontradicted. Surely everyone who has the means ought to do something, each in his own special way, to wipe off so great a reproach from his country!

It is satisfactory that the English in England produce a different impression on the Hindoos. Mr. Kursandass Mulji, in the Introduction to his 'Travels in England' (written for his countrymen in Guzerathi, but translated by him into English) thus states his impression:—

'You will ask me, what sort of men the people of England are, and in what way they love foreigners? I answer that they are very affable and kind, and are known for their love and kindness towards strangers. This observation does not hold equally good of all Englishmen, for there are some among them so bad and deceitful, that they will surpass the low and deceitful in our own country. But their higher classes, generally, will be found to be of a good and a kind disposition. If you miss your way, and inquire it of an English gentleman, he will lay aside his own business, and put you in the right way. If you ride in the same carriage with Englishmen, the talkative portion will ask you your country, caste, &c., and amuse themselves. But those who are reserved, and not talkatively disposed, will be found to be the more numerous. You will be mistaken in forming an unfavourable opinion of these, if, when not acquainted, they do not speak with you.

'When once you are acquainted with a polite and influential Englishman, and especially when the acquaintance is formed through a respectable man like himself, then you will feel the force of the kindness and goodness of an English gentleman. He will introduce you to his family and friends, and you will

then come to know how they all love and are attached to you, and how much they wish well to you and to your country. If you form your estimate of the Englishmen in England from those you meet in India, you will deceive yourself much. The missionaries, and Englishmen of respectability and of noble families, who come to this country, love it, and labour for its welfare. But others there are who confine their thoughts solely to their own interests, and look on the natives with no friendly eye. The warm climate of this country acts on them, and heats their pride. Hence it would be a mistake to form an opinion of Englishmen in England from one's experience of them in India. An affable Englishman here is perceived to grow in his affability there, and, knowing us to be strangers, loves us the more, and affords us fitting aid and advice.'—(P. 67.)

Such friendly intercourse will almost insensibly, and without any direct effort on our part, effect great improvement in native manners and habits. Some native houses where I had the pleasure of visiting in Bombay, had quite the air and appearance of English residences, the families living alone, the lady of the house being the central spring of all, and no more secluded than suited her own taste; in one, at least, the master of the house took his evening meal with his wife and daughters. While others talked more than he did about social improvement, he, on these and other very important points, was carrying out quietly a great reform. Contrast such residences with the picture which is drawn of a Hindoo abode by a Calcutta Baboo, Kanny Loll Dey, sub-assistant surgeon, in an address delivered to the Bengal Branch of the British Medical Association, in March 1866:—

'A native house has generally two divisions—namely, the outer and the inner apartments: the former occupy the greater space of the two, consisting of sitting and reception-rooms,

exclusively for the male members of the household; a hall, or *dalan*, for the celebration of *poojahs* and festivals; and an open courtyard, for *nautches* and other entertainments. These apartments are more or less commodious, are more or less airy, according to the means, taste, and inclinations of the owner of the household. But farther on from these apartments, and situated on the back of the *dalan*, are the inner apartments, the *untuppoor*, or the zenana, into which are consigned the females of a Bengalee household—our mothers and our wives, our daughters and our sisters—in fact, all the dearest partners and associates of our social existence. The construction of these apartments is always the subject of jealous scrupulousness. There must be as few windows as possible, and, where they cannot be altogether avoided, care is taken that they do not open on a public street, or on a neighbour's house—thereby keeping out the sunshine and the wind of heaven as much as possible. Cooking-rooms without proper chimneys, and smoky outlets generally, form part of these dwelling apartments; in addition to which source of mischief is the *aûs takoor*, or place for throwing the refuse of the cooking-house. It may be easy to imagine the noxious quality imparted to the atmosphere by stagnant water and decaying vegetable and animal matter. It is now generally acknowledged, that this noxious quality is in reality a subtle poison, which acts on the human system through the medium of the lungs, producing fevers and other epidemics. The miasmata, or exhalations from the cesspools, mixed with intolerable odours, nauseate the most healthy stomach, and derange the most perfect constitution. There are also the odious privy-houses, one sufficing for a whole family. They are seldom or never cleared, and are a perennial source of disease and unhealthiness. Some, with a view to economy, sink wells underneath their privies, which transmit the filth of one generation to another, like an heirloom. It is now also generally known, that tanks, and collections of water of every kind, are dangerous beneath or near a house, because, unless their contents be constantly in a state of change, which is rarely the case, their tendency is to send up exhalations of a

noxious kind. But to a native house, contiguous to the female apartments, is generally attached a tank, in which the women perform their ablutions, wash their cooking utensils, and the water of which they use for culinary and domestic purposes. It is, however, nothing better than a kind of millpond, into which every kind of refuse is thrown, or is allowed to discharge itself; the putrid matter thus collected not being cleared out once for a long series of years, no one dreaming of any harm from it.'

Surely intercourse with Europeans will lead to a desire to change the condition of such unhealthy abodes, and to feel the justice of no longer secluding the most delicate part of the species, to whom home is everything, in the worst part of the mansion.

The practice of polygamy, of which we have been in the habit of entertaining so intense a horror, as common in India, seems to have nearly disappeared from the educated part of Hindoo society, except among the Kulin Brahmins. I never heard of its actual existence in any case but one, during my stay in India; happily, I did not knowingly meet the individual who committed it. A petition was sent to Government, I was informed, signed by 20,000 of the most respectable natives, for its abolition. The Government declines, however, to interfere in social customs. Among the lower grades of society, I learnt that it often exists to a great extent; a washerman will marry a number of wives to do the work. One case was mentioned to me, on good authority, of a man who had taken a large piece of land in the island of Salsette, and married thirty wives to cultivate it, as the cheapest way of obtaining labour!

The practice of members of a family living together in one establishment, is another Hindoo custom which had its origin in earlier ages, when circumstances may

have rendered it important to strengthen and support themselves by a very close family tie. The following description of this custom and its effects, is thus described in an article in the 'Indu Prakash,' as quoted in 'Allen's Indian Mail' of Nov. 16, 1867:—

'In each family there is one chief man, on whose character the happiness or unhappiness of all depends. He becomes, as it were, a king, and his wife the queen, and they carry on the government. It is a "Moglai raj." The rest of the family are not consulted, especially if they are unemployed; they are looked upon as mere nobodies. The chief work of the wife of the family is to cause quarrels. She feels unhappy because the money expended on the family is that earned by her husband. Her feelings of self-interest force her to commit improper acts. If there be any hereditary property, all fight for their shares, and at last suits are instituted in the courts. Thus the owners of the property lose it, and are reduced to poverty; they become insolvents, and are miserable. The manager, if he is selfish, looks to his own interest, and cheats his brothers. If he is honest, probably the rest of the family suspect him without cause, and are always quarrelling with him; so that, whether he is a rogue or honest, he is sure to be always accused.

Look now at the position of the wife; but it is difficult to find anything to compare this with. There is no freedom for a man even in our families: how can there be, then, for a helpless woman? Her condition is, simply, that of a slave. As soon as she is married she begins to be tormented. In some families, when the daughters go to their father-in-law's house, they may be considered to be entering on the torments of hell (*yumyatana*). She must rise the first in the morning, and go to bed the last at night. She must do the most work, and eat the worst food in the house; but she must be properly dressed, and must not appear in rags. As a reward for her labour, she gets abuse, and sometimes blows; but she must bear all this in silence, else what more will she not get? She

has also to hear vile abuse of her parents and forefathers. Is she the servant of one person only? No; all in the house, great and small, exercise an iron rule over her. Until she is grown-up she may not speak to her husband; who, then, will protect her? When she is grown up, if her husband is good, and earns his living, she may begin to have a little comfort; but even then, she and her husband may not speak in public together. If they do so speak, they get the reputation of being immodest and babblers, besides which, her husband's relations will begin to suspect her, and be envious of her. If she have children, it is not proper for her husband and her to show even ordinary affection or pleasure; but we cannot describe the strife, envy, and grumblings of the other women. In short, the houses of our people are often, from this cause, like the fireplaces of hell!

'But if these are the sad effects of this custom on individuals and families, they do not end there, but tend to the ruin of the country. By families living all together, the proper income of the house does not suffice for all. The whole weight of life is on the shoulders of one, and the rest are lazy and careless. All obey the orders of one, and so the independence which is natural to man is not even seen to be natural and fitting. From perpetual bickerings the spirit is broken, and the proper pride which is essential to every man is among our people destroyed. Besides this, from perpetual quarrels at home, interest in the affairs of the outer world is destroyed. There is a perpetual growth of inferiority and meanness. From all these causes there is but litle work done. Independent energy and courage also cease among our people, and, from their having no proper pride, we do not even know the name of pride in our country as a virtue.'

The effect of this state of society, and the manner in which religion and social usage are combined by the so-called 'orthodox Hindoos,' is thus described by Baboo Koilas Chundra Bose, in a paper read before the Bengal Social Science Association:—

'To a Hindoo father, a son is an object of religious value. He is not only the light and comfort of his eye in this world, but the instrument of his salvation in the next. In the *Daya Bhága* it is said, "since a son delivers his father from the hell called *put*, therefore he is named *puttra* by the Self-existent Himself." A childless man cannot escape perdition. To die, therefore, without issue, is regarded as one of the greatest of all calamities. It is for this reason that the birth of a male child is attended with greater rejoicing and merriment in a Hindoo household than the birth of a daughter. In addition, therefore, to natural affection, religion lends its weight in increasing the value of male children. They are, therefore, reared up in the midst of tenderness, affection, and caresses, which are carried to such an extravagant length, that they sometimes do more harm than good to the objects upon which they are lavished. Hindoo parents do not *love* their children; they caress and spoil them. In them they love the trophies of their vanity, the pastime of their idleness, the fancied instruments of a mistaken salvation. Bedecked with pearls and gold, the Hindoo child in its infancy contracts habits of pomp and show, which in manhood cannot be useful either to himself or to society. The fondness of Hindoo parents for adorning their children with gold and jewels is so inordinate, that a person occupying a very humble position in society, doing no more honourable business than that of collecting sircar, and earning only 16 rupees a month, is obliged, by social tyranny and convention, to buy at his son's *annaphrashan* (or the ceremony of initiating the child in rice-eating) at least 20 sicca weight of gold (value 320 rupees), which the neighbouring goldsmith is ready to convert into trinkets for the occasion. It is known of a man who actually raised money to celebrate this pleasing rite by mortgaging his ancestral domicile, the only one he had on earth to put his head under.'—(P. 124.)

How such a system is calculated to stifle all individual energy, and to bind the ignorance and superstition of a past generation, as a dead burden on the living

present, is proved by a subsequent passage in the same paper:—

'Under the present *régime*, Hindoo parents are not only required to maintain their sons and families, but a moral obligation is almost imposed upon them, by the tacit consent of society, to find adequate provision for them in life, according to their own rank and dignity. Thus, all sense of independence and self-exertion is snapped asunder; and we find in many Hindoo families of wealth and rank, grown-up young men, who might have been the pride and ornament of their families and their country, withering in sensualism and inanity. The gross dependence of children on their parents, their complete helplessness and incapacity to make their own way, is chiefly characteristic of the Hindoos of this country, whose energies are paralysed, whose enterprise is cramped, by nothing so much as parental fondness and parental government.'—(P. 125.)

The position of young men of intelligence and education, with a mind awakened to desire and aim at progress, both for themselves and their country, is greatly to be pitied. Whatever their desire to throw aside all that must be absolutely soul-sickening to their enlightened mental vision; with the most ardent wishes to work out for themselves a nobler future—with an intense yearning after social sympathy with those to whom they have linked their earthly existence, and a longing to awaken their intellectual nature—with all this, they are dragged down to absolute dependence by their pecuniary needs, and retained in a state of bondage, from which religion and filial piety alike forbid them to emancipate themselves. Honour, then, to everyone whose moral courage and goodness of heart enable him to free himself from thraldom, to put away the gods of the heathen, and worship the one living and true God—to leave father and mother

at the call of conscience, and 'cleave unto his wife'—thus bringing on himself the dreaded penalty of excommunication! Honour to such an one! And if he proves, by the consistency of his subsequent conduct, that he is actuated by no motive but what is noble and manly—that he desires to please no one but the Father of his inner spirit—then it is both a privilege and a duty for every truehearted Englishman to encourage him, by sympathy in the work which he is doing for his country. It has been my good fortune, during my six months in India, to become acquainted with a few such, of whom the world knows little, for they are not seeking the praise of men;—I have been happy to feel that my sympathy has helped them.

It is evident from the foregoing extracts, as well as from the testimony of all Hindoos, that their religion and social habits are indissolubly connected. The immoralities which exist under the name of religion, and are still practised in India, were brought before the public in the famous Maharaj case in January 1862. The Maharajas exercised the highest spiritual authority over their adherents. A Hindoo gentleman of Bombay, Kursandass Mulji, had for some time courageously exposed various immoral habits practised by them, and taken his stand against many social evils. For this he was sued for libel by one of these priests, and the trial occupied many weeks, in the course of which witnesses unveiled horrors inconceivable to the English mind. The defendant was exposed to the rage of a bigoted mob, and only the strong intervention of the police saved his life, as he went each day to the court. Truth and justice finally prevailed; a verdict was given for the defendant. Sir Joseph Arnould thus concluded his elaborate and learned judgment:—

'It is not a question of theology that has been before us; it is a question of morality. The principle for which the defendant and his witnesses have been contending, is simply this—that what is morally wrong, cannot be theologically right; that when practices which sap the very foundations of morality, which involve a violation of the eternal and immutable laws of right, are established in the name and under the sanction of religion, they ought, for the common welfare of society, and in the interest of humanity itself, to be publicly denounced and exposed. They have denounced—they have exposed them. At a risk and at a cost which we cannot adequately measure, these men have done determined battle against a foul and powerful delusion. They have dared to look custom and error boldly in the face, and proclaim before the world of their votaries, that their evil is not good, that their lie is not the truth. In thus doing they have done bravely and well.'

High public testimonies, by both influential natives and Englishmen, were given to the defendant, Mr. Kursandass Mulji, who had so courageously attacked immorality, and supported purity of religion. It was, however, thought best that he should take a journey to England after the exertions and trials he had borne. Though he endeavoured while abroad to preserve the regulations of caste as far as lay in his power, yet he was excommunicated on his return, only two of his friends having the courage to receive him with kindness. He published a work on his travels in Europe, in Guzerathi, which has been very highly appreciated, both by the Government and by his countrymen. Now, when we find that, after so long a period of education and intercourse with Europeans, idolatry, associated with the worst immorality, still holds such tyrannic sway in an enlightened city, that anyone who ventures to unveil it shall be exposed to such cruel persecution, and that his nearest relatives cast

him off, surely it is the duty of all to countenance those who manfully bear a testimony to truth!

It is sometimes imagined, that all who are not Christians are heathens. This is far from being the case. I never met with any educated men who believed in idolatry, though they have not the courage, like this gentleman, openly to renounce connection with idolatrous practices. 'I did what I thought was good,' he says, 'and leave the results to God.' Educated Hindoos acknowledge one God, our Heavenly Father, and I always found them respond to an appeal to Him. While the caste system still binds them, they yet have broken away from the actual worship of idols.

The following extract from a letter from a Brahmo gentleman, would probably meet the views of most of his sect:—

'You were pleased to ask me to state what my religious persuasion is. I am happy to say that I belong to no sect, as I know of no sect the creed of which takes an *unlimited*—or, in other words, the *spiritual*—view of the Universal Father, the Great Spirit; and if such a sect exists, I shall be happy to belong to it. But my idea is, that sectarianism and religion are incompatible. The true state of religion—or, in other words, the spiritual state—rises above every sect and every creed, which must look upon God in a limited form more or less, and no one can realise God unless he or she be supersensuous or spiritual. I grant that the object of every creed is to make us spiritual. But does it do so? Does it not circumscribe instead of enlarging the soul? An elevated soul takes an elevated view of God, both as regards His attributes and providence. The prayers of an elevated soul are very different from those of a narrow and ritualistic soul. In adversity and prosperity an elevated soul sees God equally—it sees "good in everything." But not so the soul chained to a particular creed. This is a vast question, and a great deal

can be said upon it. Instead of looking up to soul, and through the soul to God, or, in other words, instead of being subjective, we are objective. There is, therefore, no wonder that we learn religion *objectively*.'

The 'Bombay Hindoo Reformer,' when commenting on the conversion of some natives to Christianity, does not defend Hindooism, but what he terms Prathanaism, or the worship of one God, and says: 'The religion of the Prathana Somaj can count its adherents by thousands, not only among the Hindoos, but among all other nations on the surface of the globe. In fact, it is destined to be the religion of the whole world. And though the day is still very distant from us when such a glorious result would be consummated, that it will come cannot admit of a doubt.'

To many it may appear incomprehensible, yet it is nevertheless a painful fact, that while holding views so enlightened, a strong prejudice exists against Christianity, and that native converts are regarded with great dislike. Hindoos respect the precepts of Christianity, and the morality of the Bible they hold in high esteem, but to the reception of Christianity they feel insuperable difficulties. This is, in the first place, probably owing to the fact of its being the religion of a foreign nationality, and subversive of the social distinctions of caste, which, however inconvenient and injurious, are yet those which they hold from their forefathers. They consequently appear to regard a Christian convert as a traitor and a renegade. This feeling is strengthened by the fact, that converts are, with some few exceptions, from low castes, and thus additionally an object of contempt in their estimation. Then, again, their faith in their own sacred writings having been shaken, they do not willingly accept any other revelation. A

Brahmo gentleman wrote to me, 'We do not wish to change one form of superstition for another.' They feel it impossible for them to accept miracles under any circumstances, and thus difficulty occurs at the very commencement.

The very small number of converts annually made, notwithstanding the great and indefatigable efforts of the missionaries, and their warm devotion to the work, of which many instances have been given in the course of this narrative, seem to indicate that difficulties must exist, which have not yet been generally understood. Forty years ago, Rammohun Roy pointed out strongly, that the system of bringing abstruse and difficult doctrines before his people, was not the most judicious course. He himself anxiously desired to lead his countrymen, in the first place, to accept the 'Precepts of Jesus' as their guide, persuaded (as he states in his preface) that the adoption of them would lead to truth and happiness. His efforts do not appear to have been seconded by Christians, nor has his work—which, coming from a distinguished Brahmin, would surely have weight with his countrymen—been translated into any Indian tongue, except his native Bengali. Surely it would be well to encourage all advances towards pure theism, and all efforts to escape from the debasing system which prevents the elevation of the Hindoo nation! Such sympathy from Europeans I always found gladly welcomed by the natives, when given with proper respect for their individual freedom of thought; they also received kindly the expression of the testimony I always bore to them, that to Christianity I owe everything, and that I earnestly desire that they should possess the inestimable blessing I myself enjoy.

Everyone who lives out his religion in the spirit of

his Divine Master, is preparing the way for the coming of His kingdom; and surely everyone who has any idea of the thraldom and unspeakable horrors of idolatry, should omit nothing by which, directly or indirectly, as best his own conscience may direct, to prepare the way for its abandonment!

In the meantime, all must rejoice that one of so great an influence among his countrymen as Keshub Chunder Sen, should, without having embraced Christianity, have so lofty a conception of it as is contained in the following passage, in his celebrated discourse, 'Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia,' to a crowded audience of Hindoos:—

'It cannot be said that we in India have nothing to do with Christ or Christianity. Have the natives of this country altogether escaped the influence of Christianity, and do they owe nothing to Christ? Shall I be told by my educated countrymen, that they can feel nothing but a mere remote historic interest in the grand movement I have described? You have already seen how, in the gradual extension of the Church of Christ, Christian missions came to be established in this distant land, and what results these missions have achieved. The many noble deeds of philanthropy and self-denying benevolence which Christian missionaries have performed in India, and the various intellectual, social, and moral improvements which they have effected, need no flattering comment; they are treasured in the gratitude of the nation, and can never be forgotten or denied. (Applause.) That India is highly indebted to these disinterested and large-hearted followers of Christ, for her present prosperity, I have no doubt the entire nation will gratefully acknowledge. Fortunately for India, she was not forgotten by the Christian missionaries when they went about to preach the Gospel. (Cheers.) While, through missionary agency, our country has thus been connected with the enlightened nations of the West, politically, an all-wise and all-

merciful Providence has entrusted its interests to the hands of a Christian sovereign. In this significant event worldly men can see nothing but an ordinary political phenomenon; but those of you who can discern the finger of Providence in individual and national history, will doubtless see here His wise and merciful interposition. (Hear, hear.) I cannot but reflect with grateful interest on the day when the British nation first planted their feet on the plains of India, and the successive steps by which the British Empire has been established and consolidated in this country. It is to the British Government that we owe our deliverance from oppression and misrule, from darkness and distress, from ignorance and superstition. Those enlightened ideas which have changed the very life of the nation, and have gradually brought about such wondrous improvement in native society, are the gifts of that Government, and so, likewise, the inestimable boon of freedom of thought and action, which we so justly prize. Are not such considerations calculated to rouse our deepest gratitude and loyalty to the British nation, and Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria? (Cheers.) Her beneficent Christian administration has proved to us not only a political, but a social and moral blessing, and laid the foundation of our national prosperity and greatness; and it is but natural that we should cherish towards her no other feeling except that of devoted loyalty.'

May such sentiments be widely spread among the people of India!

To no part of the community is the possession of a purer faith of more importance than to the women of India. While their educated husbands and male relatives are gradually making efforts to escape from thraldom, they themselves are still strongly bound by it. From the first to the last day of a residence in India, the point which most painfully strikes the mind is the position of Hindoo women. This seems to affect every part of society, both native and English. The mere

fact of women being uneducated, is one which may be remedied by the introduction of schools, and the affording proper instruction. This, though important, does not remove the evil. The injustice done to woman, by treating her who is created equal, though different, as an inferior—by depriving her of the possibility of developing the powers which God has given her, and of discharging her duties and fulfilling her destiny—meets one at every turn. None can be more alive to the evils of woman's present position, than enlightened Hindoos themselves, who perceive in it, not only the loss of that high domestic happiness which they have learnt to aspire to as their own natures have become more elevated by education, but also the grand barrier to the improvement of their race, and their own emancipation from the thraldom of superstition. 'It is my firm conviction,' writes one of these, 'that India can scarcely take a high position in the scale of civilisation, without raising the social condition of women in general. Women, as a class, are uneducated, and are treated little better than slaves in India.' A native poet sings of 'female serfdom,' as the only term which can express their present condition. And yet, by a remarkable kind of retribution, while woman is thus debarred from the exercise of the powers given her by the Creator, and from taking her place in society, she exercises a remarkable sway over those who are enthralling her, and binds them down with the very chains of superstition with which she is herself enthralled. It is everywhere felt among the enlightened, that the stronghold of idolatry, and all its attendant evils, is in the home; that the guardians of the rites and usages which are associated with the utmost degradation, are those whose claims to influence no tyranny can annihi-

late. Whether we read the description given by the collegian of the degrading manner in which the young Bengali, whose mind has been inmbued with the highest and purest sentiments of English literature, is compelled by his female relatives to pay his morning homage before a senseless image, and present rich offerings to a hideous idol, before he ventures to take his morning meal, and go to his official duties; or whether we listen with astonishment to a native judge, who publicly confesses that he had been compelled, by the ladies of his household, to do what he knows to be wrong, and to see his child sacrificed to the folly of witchcraft, exclaiming helplessly, 'Some men may boast that they have moral courage, I have not; who can curb a woman?'—every view of the subject directs to the same point; all acknowledge that the present condition of woman, and her utter ignorance of everything that should exalt her nature, is the great barrier to the elevation of the natives. What can be hoped from her softening influence on society when the following is her social position, as described by a native writer?—

'These dark spots occur in the shape of certain restraints on free social intercourse between man and wife. They might be the institutions of a barbarous age—they might have had their origin in certain local peculiarities and customs; but their continuance on the statute-book, and their practice up to the present day, are scarcely creditable to those who, holding their women in the highest esteem, suffer themselves to be led by force of habit to outrage their own understanding. Take, for instance, such an ordinance as this—

'"Let no man either eat with his wife, or look at her eating, or sneezing, or yawning, or sitting carelessly."

'Now, one of the greatest promoters of domestic happiness

is the family board, at the head of which the mistress of the house has a right to sit, to quicken the glow of social enjoyment by her presence. Her exclusion from it by Hindoo law may, to some extent, be explained by the share which Hindoo women originally had in the cooking of the food, and in the serving of it to all the members, including the servants of the house. The law also declares that "a husband is to be revered as a god by a virtuous wife," and their eating together may justly militate against that law. But in the present advanced state of our society—when the women of the house, generally, neither cook their own food, nor serve it with their own hands, and when the godship of the husband is generally understood to be a mere figure of speech—the introduction into every respectable native house of a family board, where a man and his wife, with their sons and daughters, and daughters-in-law, may eat together, cannot fail to develope those social amenities in which we are now so particularly deficient. Female companionship is a desideratum in Hindoo society, the want of which every educated Bengali, in his heart, cannot but deeply regret. As long, therefore, as we do not succeed in removing the existing restraints, which prevent women from mixing in the society of men, so long do we not only give a handle to our traducers to charge us with cruelty and unkindness to the weaker sex, but we lend ourselves to the continuance of a system, which is at once pernicious, and opposed to our truest aspirations after happiness.' *

All enlightened natives know, also, that their race is becoming physically deteriorated by the social customs to which they are bound. Mothers at twelve, and grandmothers at five-and-twenty, cannot be the parents of a strong and hardy race; nor can those who are confined to the sunless apartments to which we have been introduced by our native professor, inspire their children with the genial influences of God's beautiful world. Those who are acquainted with native customs

* *Vide* 'Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association,' p. 136.

with regard to women, are well aware why these are too often old and shrivelled when they might be in the full beauty of womanhood—why their minds are dwarfed to the measure of childhood, when they should be able to draw out the faculties of their children, and inspire them with thoughts and principles which should guide their minds through life.

None better than the Hindoos themselves understand all these things. They know, practically, the influence on society of the great perversion of right principles which pervades their social existence, and which brings with it the fearful consequences which attend all deviations from the laws which govern the universe. The social condition of woman is the frequent subject of their writing and their speaking. Numerous are the pamphlets on female education; constant are the lamentations over early marriages, as the root of all social evils, as indeed it is; great is the agitation in favour of the remarriage of widows, the prohibition of which is the cause of immense misery and immorality. And yet those who speak the most loudly on the subject, who express the most enlightened views, who will spend whole fortunes in endeavouring to promote a grand and radical reform in others, in their own families, perpetuate by deeds the evils which they oppose in words. So truly did the native poet again sing—

'Long have we groaned 'neath custom's iron chain,'

so difficult do they find it to break from the thraldom.

It is, however, the Hindoos who must emancipate themselves. The work is actually beginning, as will be evident from a perusal of the foregoing pages. Quietly but surely, here and there, without noise or ostentation, an important step is being taken, which is of

more value in leading the way to a great change in society, than any amount of declamation or argument. The Government most wisely pursues a steady course of non-interference, satisfied that emancipation must come at no remote period, from the natural progress of events. In all my own intercourse with the native community, I pursued a similar course. Feeling that it would be most ill-advised, as well as improper, in a visitor, who came to offer friendly sympathy, to obtrude plans or attempt reforms for which the inhabitants were not prepared, I rather followed their leading in the way in which improvement should be made, and showed them the result of the course I advised, in my own country. The native gentlemen had long felt that, as education had elevated them, so would it their ladies; and while the Government had educated them, they felt that it was their place to undertake female education. When they first attempted this, they had no educated females who could become teachers; they feared the influence of Englishwomen in their social customs, and the religion they held from their fathers; and not only would not employ them as teachers, but did not allow the introduction of the English language in their schools: they employed pundits as instructors, this being their only resource at the time. Even this imperfect education prepared the way for something better; the instruction given in the mission schools by female teachers, showed how greatly young Hindoo girls might be improved by suitable instructors, and a desire had begun to spring up, more or less in each Presidency, among enlightened Hindoos, for female teachers. Their great dread of conversion, which is associated in their minds with denationalization, prevented their availing themselves, generally, of the help which the

missionaries might have given, and they did not see the way to progress. Such was the state of female education, when circumstances led me to learn the want existing, from enlightened natives, who were themselves experienced in education. They wanted to secure a supply of female teachers; they desired English help and civilisation, if this could be obtained without the danger of religious or social interference. The experience which many years had given them of Government education, made them feel satisfied that they might trust to the sincerity of its avowed intentions, while the increased intercourse they had had with European ladies, as well as gentlemen, inspired them with confidence in their friendly intentions. The time was thus now arrived when an organised scheme may be prepared permanently to supply the want. How earnestly the natives entered into this, has been already seen; the proposed method of working it will be set forth in another chapter.

We have hitherto spoken of the higher classes of women in India, and of the efforts which are being made, by the educated Hindoos, to enable them to share the educational benefits they have themselves received. There has as yet, however, been no organised attempt made to educate the girls of the inferior castes, though missionary schools are open to them. A great gulf exists between those who are secluded in the zenana, and those who are rather the drudges of the other sex than their helpmates. The sight of women employed as ordinary labourers—as porters toiling under heavy burdens—is most repulsive. The features which nature intended to be soft and refined, are worn with hardship, and the degrading employments they are compelled to undertake seems to

destroy the sense of feminine propriety. Thus compelled to do the work of men, they are debarred from employments regarded by us as properly belonging to women, while men are engaged to do the feminine tasks of needlework, washing, and numberless other light works. Extreme ignorance, and the vices connected with idolatry, render woman in India very unfit to perform the duty nature intended for her—the care of children; for, even if she can take proper care of their little bodies (which is doubtful), she infuses into their opening minds a degree of deception and wilfulness which years may not be able to eradicate. In the course of the foregoing narrative, we have everywhere seen the evil caused by the present position of things: the hospitals are without proper nurses, because the natives are not fit to discharge the office; the jails are without female warders for the women's department.

These evils cannot be remedied at once, but there should be serious consideration of the best way to begin the work. That was pointed out to us by the native gentry themselves in the case of the higher classes. Let us watch for indications how to act in the best way for those in the lower classes of society.

The factory system, now spreading in India, affords an admirable opening. The female workers will not themselves desire education, not having yet learned to comprehend its value; but, if given to them as a part of the condition of their work, they will be improved by it, and the managers will feel the benefit, by their becoming better workers. It will be one step in the right direction.

Another most important way of improving native women of the lower classes, would be by founding institutions for training nurses. At present there are,

probably, no native women in India capable of discharging such duties. Some years ago, there were no properly-educated native medical practitioners. The Calcutta Medical College has led the way in giving a good medical education to the natives, and now, in every part of the empire, are those who can give to their countrymen sound medical advice, which they will, probably, receive from native practitioners with more confidence than from foreigners. But the doctor can do little if he is not seconded by the nurse. The ignorant woman, putting her faith in charms, and entirely disregarding the most ordinary laws of health in her treatment of the sick, entirely defeats all the efforts of the physician to save his patient. The father remains powerless, and sees his beloved child sacrificed to the infatuated superstition of the females of his family, which defy medical skill. The husband beholds his wife sink, in her suffering and weakness, under the ignorant treatment she receives from those who have never learnt how to do better. The hospitals we have already spoken of as suffering from want of proper attendance on the patients, or indeed, frequently, from entire absence of any proper care. Now, there cannot be a doubt that Hindoo women would be peculiarly well-fitted for nurses, if they had received proper training. The personal Hindoo servants of gentlemen, who have insensibly learnt the habits and wants of Europeans, prove most faithful and devoted nurses in time of sickness, as I have often heard Anglo-Indians gratefully acknowledge. Surely the women then possess, even in a greater degree, qualities which would, if developed, enable them to supply a great and widely-felt want! We have seen the excellent results of the society for training nurses at Calcutta, in connection with the

Medical College Hospital. Let institutions of a similar kind be commenced at Bombay and Madras, and in other grand centres of civilisation in India, and a great work will be inaugurated, which cannot fail to benefit the country.

There is, too, a work to do for every lady who employs native women in her service in India, and one which need not remove her from home; many are doing this by endeavouring to improve their female attendants, and superintending the education of the children of the servants of their households. The direct, as well as indirect, influence of every Englishwoman, as well as every Englishman in India, for good or for evil, can hardly be estimated. What has been already done reveals what great wants exist, and how they may be supplied. The devoted work of multitudes of Englishwomen in that great continent, shows what our sex can do: new light, the rapid progress of civilisation, the wants created by it, reveal increasing need of women's work in India. May many more Englishwomen arise, who shall devote themselves to the glorious and blessed work of raising their Eastern sisters, to fill that place in society for which the Creator has destined them!

CHAPTER III.

THE INHABITANTS OF INDIA.

THOSE in our country who know as little of India as I did myself before my visit to the East, are perhaps hardly aware of the number of races and tribes inhabiting that vast peninsula. To say that the inhabitants of Hindostan differ from each other as much as those of the whole of Europe, would present a very inadequate idea to the mind. Much as the ice-bound plains of Lapland, the rugged grandeur of the Scandinavian peninsula, the varied marvels of nature which astonish the traveller even within a comparatively small space in the central countries of our Western continent, differ from the soft and beautiful South, with its vine-covered hills, its orange-perfumed groves, the tender beauty of its woodlands and lakes, the grandeur of its cascades and mountains—there is an infinitely greater diversity of climate, country, productions, and marvellous features of nature, contained between the heaven-piercing summits and eternal snow of the Himalayas, and the spicy woods and palm-bound shores of the tropical island of Ceylon. In like manner is there far greater variety in the human species inhabiting our Indian Empire, than in the subjects of all the monarchies of Europe. The Laps, the Icelanders, the Russians, the Germans, do indeed differ from the Spaniards, the Italians, the

Greeks, the semi-Oriental Turks—and all these differ essentially from the inhabitants of our own British Isles; even within our own small sphere, there are to be found different races, and those of the same race so unlike each other, that the vigorous energetic population of the manufacturing district can hardly understand, in character or speech, the inhabitants of the rich agricultural South of England, washed by the blue transparent waves of our Channel, with hills and valleys redolent with myrtle and fragrant herbs:—yet these different nations and varieties sink into nothing in comparison with those that people Hindostan. In Europe there is (excepting in Turkey) the common acceptance of the Christian religion, and, notwithstanding the great variety of forms under which this is received, yet the simple acknowledgment of it as a Divine revelation, gives some degree of unity of social institutions, thought, and feeling; while the Jews and Mahometans, who do not so receive it, holding as a fundamental doctrine the absolute unity of the Great First Cause of all, have not imbibed those idolatrous practices which are, in India, so fatal a hindrance to improvement. Europeans have, more or less, common ideas of civilisation and social intercourse, and they can travel from one part of the continent to the other without any great shock to their conventional notions; though there is no *lingua franca* of the whole continent, yet frequent travel, and constantly increasing facilities of intercourse, renders intercommunication easy. In India, on the contrary, there are not only differing but hostile religions, so closely connected with social habits, as to render it impossible for different races to have friendly domestic intercourse with each other, for each is surrounded with barriers which must not be broken down.

Until the recent introduction of railways, communication between these different parts was most difficult and rare, and this isolation led to the perpetuation of the most extraordinary and (in the opinion of the educated), most absurd customs. Some of these have been already indicated; many are disappearing before the march of civilisation, and, still more, before the progress of education and enlightenment.

To attempt to give any complete account of the races of India, would be obviously impossible in a single chapter. Not having, while in that country, any intention of writing a book, I did not collect information on this subject, which would then have been accessible to me, while the impossibility of intercourse with the uneducated native races limited my acquaintance to those who spoke English. I am, therefore, not in a position to give even a brief account of all the races and tribes, and various subdivisions of the inhabitants of India, or even of any part of it. Yet even the few remarks which I can offer, my own impressions, and still more some reliable information not generally accessible, may throw light on subjects to which I am anxious to invite the serious consideration of the reader.

On arriving at Bombay, the nearest port to England, and that which is especially the great commercial emporium of the Empire, one is immediately struck by a great diversity existing among the inhabitants. The Hindoos, with their many tribes and castes, being for a time disregarded, those that occupy the most prominent position are the Parsees. These are well known to be descendants of the ancient Persians or fire-worshippers, the followers of Zurthosht or Zoroaster. They are at present so remarkable for their intelligence and com-

mercial activity, that of late years they have taken a lead in the city, and have sometimes obscured the real merits and progress of the Hindoos themselves, in the opinion of English writers. (Their sacred writings and prayers are in Zend, an obsolete language; they are said to have been destroyed by Alexander the Great. Traces of them have been discovered in Germany, and the learned among them are occupied in collecting, restoring, and translating them. Zoroaster is regarded by the common people as divinely inspired: a highly educated Parsee gentleman informed me, however, that he and others did not consider that their great legislator claimed inspiration for himself, though his writings are received as the highest authority. It is wonderful how much sway one mind may hold for thousands of years!)

The Parsees appear likely to exercise so great an influence in the portion of Western India where they have settled, that it will be interesting to read the following statement respecting them, made by Dr. Wilson at the annual meeting of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution (on April 9, 1867):—

'The institution, it will have been observed, was founded by the late venerated Parsee baronet, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, and his benevolent consort, still surviving. The large sum (of about four lacs of rupees) forming its foundational endowment, it is to be borne in mind, for the credit of that distinguished family, forms only about a tithe of the contributions made by it to the cause of philanthropy in the West of India. One magnificent specimen of this liberality appears in the extensive hospitals surrounding the Grant Medical College, at which the numerous native residents and visitors of the island of Bombay principally obtain their medical and

surgical relief. Numerous other exhibitions of its action appear at all the towns and villages of the Northern Konkan and Guzerat in which any Parsees are to be found. (This munificent liberality, too, has produced various commendable imitations in the Parsee community, so much so that the Parsees stand pre-eminent, among the natives of Western India, for the extent and good direction of their charities. For this they are the more to be commended, that they are only a fraction of the native society by which we are surrounded. About thirty years ago their numbers were estimated at about 50,000, and their population may now be reckoned at double this amount. How pregnant with social good has been their benevolence!) (That they have been able to do so much for the cause of charity is the consequence of their success in business, particularly connected with mercantile life This success, it is worthy of notice, began first to appear under the British Government; for by the predecessors of that Government, both Hindoo and Mahometan, they were long kept in a state of great depression. Had they not had great internal energy, however, it would not have yet appeared.) (Though they are the descendants of a small body of poor Persian refugees, who fled first into the deserts of Iran from the intolerant armies of the Saracens, and (afterwards) came to the shores of Western India about the eighth century of the Christian era, they belong to a most vigorous and energetic stock. . . . . The Parsees, though few in numbers, have undoubtedly a good deal of the vigour of their ancestors; and, free from the social manacles by which many around them are bound, they have done wonders, especially in the development of the commerce of Western India.) True, many of them, from causes known to all, are at present wellnigh prostrate; but it is fully to be expected that, profiting by the lessons of experience, which others have to learn as well as themselves, they will soon rise again and resume their place in fair business, and liberal ministration to the wants of their fellow-men. (The continuance of their educational efforts, and especially of those devoted to the training of their daughters (in

which efforts they are excelled by none of the natives of India now bestirring themselves in this good cause), is a happy omen in their favour. This much I venture to say as an old British resident in Bombay, who feels encouraged by what he knows of the Parsees in general, and what he has witnessed this evening in this place.')

The Parsees have always firmly adhered to the worship of one Great First Cause of all, as represented in His works, the four elements; and toward the sun, as the most glorious emblem of His power, they turn while praying. In special acts of worship, in their Fire Temple, they stand round a fire kept constantly burning, and fed with fragrant sandalwood. Though the ignorant among them may worship the creature rather than the Creator, and bow down before the seen and temporal, rather than lift their hearts to the unseen and eternal, yet enlightened Parsees have repeatedly assured me that their adoration is directed exclusively to the One Great Spirit. They believe in an evil spirit, and in numerous agencies of his power, and adopt many extraordinary means of guarding themselves against them. (When the Parsees emigrated to India many centuries ago from Persia, where they suffered great persecution from the Mahometans, they settled in the province of Guzerat, the language of which they adopted. They retain strong attachment to their race and faith;) and though their religion has been overlaid with many superstitions and ceremonies, they still firmly preserve among them the worship of One True God. In this respect, and (in their freedom from caste, which is the great barrier to social reform, they possess an advantage over the Hindoos. They also surpass them in efforts for the benefit of their people; of these we have already had an example, in the institutions for the

support of the emigrants from Persia, and the poor-house, as well as in their schools, of which more will be said in a subsequent chapter. The special mark of a Parsee is a sacred cord called the *kusti*, which is a tubular, hollow, woollen cord, woven by women of the priest caste only, and consisting of seventy-two threads in the warp. This cord is tied and untied round the waist, during the recitation of certain prescribed prayers, in the old Zend language; these are called *kusti* prayers. Some fifty years ago, the Parsees were not much advanced in civilisation; but the efforts of a few enlightened individuals, and the progress of education, has effected a remarkable and rapid change among them. There are among them, as among the Hindoos, two distinct classes—one, the staunch, orthodox, unchanged Parsee, designated the 'Old Class,' in contradistinction to the 'Young Class,' to which the educated and the reformers belong. One of the foremost of these, Professor Dadabhai Naoroji, gave a graphic description of both, in a lecture delivered before the Liverpool Philomathic Society, in March 1861. A few extracts from this will give an authentic account of some of the Parsee customs, and the present interesting process of reform which is going on among them, through the general spread of enlightenment:—

'There is, at present, nearly as great a difference between one portion of them and another, as there was between Englishmen and Parsees twenty years ago. The English education of the last twenty years has worked a great change. That change, however, is not general, nor is it looked upon with satisfaction and approval by one portion. The educated, not having arrived at their present knowledge by the gradual process of self-made progress, with struggles and amidst difficulties, and by efforts watched and sympathised with by the whole

community—not having earned, but inherited the treasure—a large and sudden chasm separates them from the uneducated in their sentiments, ideas, habits of thought, opinions, and customs. This difference is so wide and marked that, in describing the present condition and customs of the Parsees, statements about one portion will sometimes be altogether inapplicable to another.

'Between these two extremes is a middle class, who, distracted by the double pull of strong prejudices and deep-rooted beliefs on the one side, and of the apparent reasonableness of the arguments addressed to them by the educated on the other, are in a condition of mind difficult to describe. They may, and sometimes do, lay equal claim to belong to the reformers, as well as to be true to their "good old ways" and to their wise ancestors.'

(The influence of English education has led the advanced class to the adoption of English manners, so that great diversity of social habits is now found among them. In one house, the professor says, may be seen a dining-table furnished with all the English appliances for the meal; while in the next house, the master of it is perfectly satisfied with his primitive good old mode of squatting on a piece of mat, with a large brass or copper plate—round, and of the size of an ordinary tray—before him, containing all the dishes of his dinner, spread on it in small heaps; this is placed upon a stool about two or three inches high, with a small tinned copper cup at his side for his drinks, and his fingers for his knives and forks.)

The professor gives the following daily routine of a Parsee of the 'Old Class':—

'On getting out of his bed in the morning, he first says his *kusti* prayers. He then rubs a little *nirang* (the urine of the cow or goat) on his face, hands, and feet, reciting

during the operation the *nirang* prayer, wishing (without understanding the language, however) destruction to all the evil spirits in the universe. He next washes out the *nirang* with water, takes a bath if so inclined, and says his *kusti* prayers again. If he get his head shaved, or have had a nightly issue, he must bathe, or he cannot touch anything. He cleans his teeth, says his *kusti* prayers the third time, and ends his morning's ablutions by reciting the usual morning prayers. These over, he is free to attend to his creature wants and worldly avocations.'

He then describes the peculiar mode of washing and bathing, and thus continues:—

'Resuming now the daily observances in their order: after he has performed his first ablutions, and said his morning prayers, he takes his breakfast. I say *he* takes his breakfast, because the lady of the house does not join him. Other male members of the house, and little girls, may take their breakfast at the same time with him; but the ladies, as a matter of course, and from what to them is a sense of duty, attend to their own wants after the gratification of those of the lord of the house. This is the case at all the meals of the day.

'Suppose two or three were taking their breakfast, or any other meal, at the same time (I purposely do not say "taking together"), each has his separate piece of mat, or any box or chest for seat, and each has a copper or brass plate, like a good-sized tray, put before him, with the dishes spread over separately, on it; just as if an English gentleman, instead of taking one thing at a time in his plate, took from all the dishes at once before setting to work. They often have the dishes, instead of being put into the large plate in heaps, served in small copper plates put side by side into the large one, like a number of small plates in a tray. They use no knives and forks, their fingers supplying the place of both. They sometimes do take their meals *together* from the same plates, but then they have to take care not to put the fingers in the mouth, or bite anything, but fling the morsel into the mouth from a

little distance. Anyone that did not manage to let the morsel go from his hand before the mouth caught it, must wash his hands before touching the plate again, or no one else would eat out of that polluted plate. While thus taking their meals together, the water also should be drunk without allowing the copper pot to touch the lips. It is poured into the mouth from a little height from the lips. At all times, whether at meals or not, the Parsee cannot touch the moist inner part of his mouth. The thing touched is defiled, and must be washed. If he has to drink out of a glass, and finds it would be inconvenient to wash his hands where he is, he holds the glass with his handkerchief. After the lord of the house is thus spiritually and physically prepared, he goes out for his day's work. At noon he takes his second meal, preceded by the noon prayers, or at least by his *kusti* prayers. In the afternoon, after he is released from his day's avocation, he goes either to the sea-shore, or to the Fire Temple, or to both, to say his usual evening prayers. He has again to say his night prayers, before taking his night meal and going to bed.

'It is not that every Parsee of the class I am describing does say all the prayers at the various times mentioned, but that an orthodox religious Parsee does, as much as his opportunities permit, or would do all if he could. The daily religious duties of the ladies are of the same kind, but, being generally ignorant, both of reading and writing, they do not, nor are they expected to, trouble themselves with saying all prayers, except the indispensable *kusti* prayers.'

The professor next gives a detailed account of the ceremonies connected with betrothal and marriage. The customs are very minute and curious, in many respects similar to those in use among the Hindoos. The priests recite the marriage blessing in Zend and Sanscrit, of which neither the couple, nor the priests, nor the ladies around, understand anything. Hundreds, or even thousands, are often feasted at these

weddings. The expense of them is very great. What with presents of dress and ornaments, with feasting and ceremonies, the poorest man can harly celebrate his son's wedding under 80*l*. The rich often spend immense sums.)

The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead need not be enlarged on. On the third day, offerings are often made for charitable purposes, by the nearest friends or relatives, in remembrance of the deceased.

There is an order of priesthood, and, though all the members of it are not compelled to be priests, yet none but them are permitted to hold the sacred office. (The Parsees do not eat anything cooked by a person of another religion.) (All prayers, on every occasion, are recited in the old original Zend language, neither the speaker nor the hearer understanding a word of it. The Parsees always keep their head and feet covered.)

(Women were formerly entirely uneducated among the Parsees, and great opposition was made when girls' schools were first opened by a few voluntary teachers.) 'Now the feeling is almost universal among them, that it is both right and beneficial that women should be educated, and her position raised from the mere drudge of the house, to the partnership of the domestic sovereignty and social enjoyments. Early marriages still present a great obstacle to improvement, as among the Hindoos, but even this is beginning to yield to the power of education. Intercourse with the English, likewise, has great influence, and especially residence in our country. Progress is being steadily made, but not without great effort.' The professor thus concludes his lecture:—

'I will now state to you, as faithfully as I can, the opinion of the "Young Class" about the same.

'About the *sudra* and *kusti* no question has been openly raised, though doubts have sometimes been expressed, whether one could not be a true Zurthoshtee without the *sudra* and *kusti*.

'The *nirang* has been the subject of a long and somewhat bitter controversy. The reformers maintain that there is no authority whatever in the original books of Zurthosht for the observance of this dirty practice, but that it is altogether a later introduction. The old adduce the authority of the works of some of the priests of former days, and say the practice ought to be observed. They quote one passage from the "Zend Avesta" corroborative of their opinion, which their opponents deny as at all bearing upon the point. The consequence of this controversy seems to have been that the young have almost all given up the practice, and many of the old have their faith shaken in the efficacy of *nirang* to drive away Satan and purify themselves.

'The frequent saying of the *kusti* prayers, and the necessity of bathing after being shaved, are in a great degree being done away with by the Young Class, as unnecessary and not enjoined. The question, however, has not been openly mooted. The institution of early betrothal and marriage has been much discussed, and seems likely to be abolished in time. The association of ladies at the domestic family dinner-table is gradually becoming more general. But when, two years ago, the first attempt was made to admit ladies to the drawing and dinner-room, to associate with other friends, loud clamour was raised against the "dangerous innovation."

'Chairs, tables, crockery, glass and plate, are rapidly displacing the old mat or bench, the copper tray and dishes and pots, and the fingers. The custom of necessarily washing the hands after taking a meal, should the lips or the inner part of the mouth be touched either by the hand or by the spoon, is not much observed by the Young Class; they wash only when the hands are actually soiled. When they use knives, forks,

or spoons, they say it is not at all necessary to wash their hands, of course to the very great displeasure and disgust of the old gentlemen.

'Many of the customs and ceremonies in connection with marriages, say the Young Class, are ruinously expensive, and altogether unnecessary, and not at all Parsee; they are almost all of them taken from the Hindoos. To abolish them, and bring the Parsees to their old good and simple ways, an association has been formed, to discuss and show the reasons why Parsees should have nothing whatever to do with them, as being neither enjoined by their religious books, nor authorised by the practice of their Persian ancestors. This association is named "The Rahanumaee Mazdiashna." Rahanumaee means "the guide," and Mazdiashnans means "worshippers of God." They hold public meetings, read papers, and allow anybody present to discuss. They afterwards publish these papers, and distribute them gratis in large numbers. This society endeavours to reduce weddings to the simple ceremony of the marriage vow and blessing; the feasting to moderate limits; the ceremonies connected with the dead to simple prayers, doing away entirely with the expensive practice of making sweetmeats, &c. for the offerings to the departed.

'The opposition to these reformers has not only been very strong and bitter, but active and organised. An anti-Rahanumaee Society was at last formed, by the advocates of the old customs. This society calls itself "Raherastnumaee Mazdiashna," meaning the *true* guides, in contradistinction to the other body, who, they say, are false guides to the Mazdiashnans. The promoters of these two bodies met together for public discussion on several occasions, published pamphlets to refute each other's views; and the result has been, that the reformers found themselves the more strengthened by the intolerant bigotry and weakness of the arguments of their opponents.

'Most of the Hindoo and expensive ceremonies and customs are now in a fair way of being swept away. A generation hence, the wedding and funeral ceremonies of the Parsees will,

I hope, be as simple and rational as those of any other people. The third-day ceremony and the fourth-day feast, after the death of a person, and several other ceremonies not truly Zurthoshtee, bid fair to become, soon, things of the past. At this very moment, there are several customs and ceremonies prevalent among one portion, which are partially or wholly unknown to another. The schoolmaster is abroad, and "reform and progress" is the order of the day. God speed them! is the hearty prayer of one who is proud of his race, and hopeful of its destiny.'

Another remarkable foreign race are the Bene-Israelites of Bombay. To the unpractised eye, these do not differ from ordinary natives, though they are at once recognised by the experienced. It is somewhat remarkable that, though the Jews of our own country are so exemplary in providing excellent schools for their people, these are entirely neglected, except by the Christians. The following account of them is given by Dr. Wilson, in a pamphlet making an appeal for them in 1865:—

'In the island of Bombay, and on the adjoining coast of the continent, from the Poona road to the Bankot river, there is a population of Bene-Israel, amounting to about 8,000 or 10,000 souls. In worldly affairs, they occupy but a comparatively humble position. In Bombay, with the exception of a few shopkeepers and others, they are principally artisans, particularly masons and carpenters. On the continent they are generally engaged in agriculture, or in the manufacture or sale of oil. Some of them (often bearing an excellent character as soldiers) are to be found in most of the regiments of native infantry in this Presidency. They can easily be recognised. They are a little fairer than the other natives of India of the same rank of life with themselves; and their physiognomy seems to indicate a union, in their case, of both the Abrahamic and Arabic blood. Their dress is a modification of that of the Hindoos and Mussulmans among whom they

dwell. They do not eat with persons belonging to other communities, though they drink from their vessels without any scruple of caste. They have, generally, two names—one of which is derived from the more ancient Israelitish personages mentioned in the Bible, and the other from Hindoo usage. Their social and religious discipline is administered by their elders, the chief of whom, in the principal villages in which they reside, are denominated *Kádhis*, or judges. They are all circumcised according to the Law of Moses; and, though till lately they had no manuscript copy of the Pentateuch, or of other books of the Bible, they receive the whole of the Old Testament as of Divine authority. When they began, about fifty years ago, particularly to attract the attention of our countrymen, they were found combining the worship of Jehovah with divination and idolatry, serving other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers had known, even wood and stone. From the Arabian Jews visiting Bombay, they had received portions of the Hebrew Liturgy of the Sephardim for use in their humble synagogues, or places of assembly. They denominate themselves BENE-ISRAEL, or Sons of Israel; and till lately they viewed the designation of *Iehudi* (or Jew) as one of reproach. They have been settled in India for many centuries. The Jews of Cochin state, according to the authority of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in his "Christian Researches," that they found the Bene-Israel on their arrival at Rájapurí, in the Konkan, where many of them still reside. The Bene-Israel themselves say that their forefathers came to India from the west or north by sea—that is, either from Arabia or the Persian Gulf. For long we were accustomed to consider them the descendants of a portion of the Israelites who were removed from their homes and carried captive to Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and Nahar-Gozan, and other places in the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia, by the Assyrian kings Pul, Tiglath-pilneser, and Shalmaneser (see 1 Chron. v. 26; 2 Kings xvi. 6). But the communication of those Israelites with the tribes of Judah and Benjamin after their captivity under Nebuchadnezzar, as certified by Josephus, and with the body of the

Jews residing on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and in Persia, as implied in the Book of Esther, and as intimated by the historians of Alexander the Great and his Seleucidan successors, and later narratives, seems almost to forbid the use of such language as the "Lost Ten Tribes," and the expectation that any bodies of Israelites, isolated from them in general religious communion, are still to be found. The observance by our Bene-Israel of Jewish festivals and fasts commemorating events connected with the later Jewish history, and even the destruction of Jerusalem, have at the same time appeared to us hostile to the theory of their being a distinctive portion of these ten tribes. We are now disposed to believe that they came to India from Yemen, or Arabia Felix, with the Jews or Israelites of which province—for they have both designations—they have from time immemorial had much intercourse, and whom they much resemble in their bodily structure and appearance.'

'When the Bene-Israel' Dr. Wilson continues, 'were first brought to the notice of our countrymen, they were found, as already hinted, in a very low and degraded state, both religious and moral. For a long period they were treated—like many other classes of the natives—with absolute neglect. About twenty-nine years ago, the American missionaries in Bombay took a few of them into their employment as Marathi teachers; and from 100 to 140 of their pupils, till 1836, were derived from their community. Mr. Sargon, a converted Cochin Jew, instituted, in 1826, for the Madras Jews' Society, six schools for their benefit, which were attended by about 165 scholars for about four years, when they were dissolved, with the exception of one, which was transferred to the Church Missionary Society, by which it is still supported.'

There are six Free Church mission schools in different places, containing 220 boys and 80 girls.

It thus appears that the educational efforts made for this remarkable people are few in comparison with their needs. Surely, in the midst of such a vast heathen

population, every effort should be made to improve and raise intellectually these descendants of the remarkable people who have so wonderfully preserved among them the knowledge of the One True God, and hold themselves distinct from the idolatrous nations around them! It is hoped that this brief notice of them may attract the attention of some of their people in our own country, and lead to the establishment of good schools for them.

The Portuguese or (more correctly speaking) Goanese are another very distinct race. They were originally some of the Portuguese settlers in Goa, who intermarried with the natives, but retained their own religion and freedom from caste. They are Roman Catholics, and their vernacular is a kind of mongrel language; but they are frequently educated by the priests, and are taught Latin. They are very numerous in Bombay, and are much employed in gentlemen's service, particularly as cooks. Those that I met with were intelligent and active, retaining some of the energy of their European extraction. They are anxious to learn English, and I saw several attending the mission schools for that purpose. Their adoption of European dress gives them a different appearance from the Hindoos; but they are equally dark, and I should not have easily discriminated them. On the whole, they seemed an improvement on the Hindoo race, blending with it some of the better features of the European, and not sinking into idolatry.

Eurasians, or East Indians, are half-castes, being European (chiefly English) and Hindoo. They are very numerous in Madras and Calcutta. Being Christians, they are quite separated from the Hindoo races, but do not generally appear to inherit all the good qualities of either race, and are represented as often

extremely wanting in energy, and unwilling to work. Many are employed in public offices, but others are frequently found in a very distressed condition, especially in Calcutta, not being considered fit objects for missionary effort, and not generally exciting the sympathy of Europeans. There are, however, schools intended for their especial benefit, and there can be no doubt that, under proper management, and with suitable openings, they may be made a valuable portion of the community. We have seen them good nurses in the Medical College Hospital at Calcutta; they may doubtless be trained to supply this great want more extensively. Surely these native inhabitants of the country, who are not separated from us by a different religion, have a peculiar claim on our sympathy, and require special efforts for their improvement!

Of the Mahometans I saw very little. They probably did not sympathise with the object of my visit, not having yet taken any interest in female education. Very few of their daughters are in the schools.

The *Moplahs* have been mentioned in the course of this narrative as a savage-looking tribe in the Madras Presidency, seen at the railway stations. They are a very peculiar race, being believed to be the descendants of Mahometans who had intermarried with the natives. They retain their ancient religion, with some modifications. They are energetic, and succeed in trade, but are extremely fierce. At times they seem animated by a fanatical zeal, and determined to give themselves up to martyrdom, by the commission of some dreadful crime for which they will suffer death. Special laws have been made respecting them for the protection of the community. Some sixteen years ago a collector was murdered by them, who had offended them by his

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efforts to check them. The jailer at Calicut told me that he was afraid of his life from them, both in and out of jail.

With respect to the native Hindoo population themselves, my own experience brought me, of course, into contact with the educated thousands and tens of thousands, not with the ignorant millions and hundreds of millions. Between those two lies a deep gulf, apparently in some respects more impassable than between Europeans and educated Hindoos. The study of the English language has brought them, through our literature and the intercourse of life, within the possibility of common sympathies, and we can interchange ideas with them. I often almost forgot that I was in a foreign land, so entirely was I able to make my meaning understood by the enlightened natives, with whom I had so much friendly conversation. But in proportion as they become more raised by education, they are further removed from sympathy with those who are still sunk in debasing superstition and ignorance. The remark of Professor Dadabhai Naoroji, respecting the old and the new school of Parsees, holds true with even greater force respecting the orthodox and the new school of Hindoos, and the separation of both from the low castes of natives. They are more separated from each other than both from the English. Baboo Koilas Chundra Bose, in his paper on the domestic economy of the Hindoos, speaks of the contemptuous language used by Hindoos toward servants, 'such as one could scarcely use towards another without causing an immediate breach of the peace. Thanking a servant for the performance of a duty is unknown in Hindoo society.' The uneducated multitudes seem beyond the sphere of kindly sympathy, or of efforts for their improvement.

It will have been already observed that considerable difference exists in the Presidential capitals among the educated Hindoos, both in the matter of religion, and in the strictness with which they observe the rules of caste. There is also a great diversity even in the same Presidency. Enlightened men appear already to have perceived that the essence of religion does not consist in outward ceremonials. The following remarkable passage on this subject occurs in the Introduction to the 'Travels in England,' by Mr. Kursandass Mulji:—

'People only affect an outward purity, and talk a great deal, but they do not observe the distinction of caste, even according to their own conception of it. I will close the chapter by a few illustrations of this statement:—

'1. The worshippers of the idol of Jagannath in Orissa are mostly flesh-eaters, and yet food cooked by them is readily accepted by Hindoos of all denominations, including the Maharajas, the descendants of Vallabh. But this would not be done in any other place. Again, at Jagannath, Hindoos of various castes take their meals even after touching each other; but if this were practised elsewhere, caste would be regarded as broken.

'2. Telangi and Dravid Brahmins still practise the *Soma Yadnya*, in which they sacrifice beasts and eat their flesh, and no objection is taken to the practice. But such a thing cannot take place elsewhere.

'3. Throughout the whole of the province of Gujarat there are Shakta Brahmins, who worship Devi, offer the goddess flesh and wine, and consume the offering themselves. Thousands of Nagar and other high-caste Brahmins in Gujarat, who are worshippers of Devi, outwardly despise meat and drink, and seem as if they are disgusted at the very sight of those things; but they secretly consume them, and no objection is taken to their conduct.

'4. In Bombay the Meshri Banias, who are worshippers of

Vishnu, dine at, and in the same line with, Shrawak Banias, who follow the Jain faith. But in Gujarat the former would not so much as drink water from the hands of the latter, and if they did it, they would be considered to have given up caste.

'5. In Kattyawar the Banias take their meals with their ordinary clothes on, and in their caste-dinners food is served to them by persons dressed in the same manner; but if such a thing were done in Bombay, it would be thought that the rules of caste were violated.

'6. In Bombay, Banias and Brahmins draw water from the same well with Mussulmans and others, and they do not object to use it (the water), even if it be touched by anybody while it is being carried through the streets. But such a practice would, in the interior, be considered as tantamount to breaking the rules of caste.

'7. In Ahmedabad, Banias can drink water brought in leather bags. In the same way, at Aden, there is no objection to use water which Mussulmans bring in leather bags on the backs of asses. But to do either of these things in Bombay is equivalent to giving up caste.

'8. In Porebunder and Mangrol, in Kattyawar, Banias drink coffee or water on the same cushion with Mussulmans. They also freely accept of *kusumba* (an inebriating drink) from the hands of the latter. But to do this elsewhere would be a grave offence against caste.

'From these few instances it is evident that there are no definite rules regarding such observances in their bearing on caste. These depend on time, place, &c. Nor do people of the same caste, or the same place, observe the injunctions regarding caste in the same manner. In Bombay, for instance, different men of the same caste observe it in different ways:—

'1. A, of a certain caste, bathes as many times as he dines; but B, of the same caste, does not do so. This is regarded as of no consequence.

'2. C has no objection to sweetmeats from D; but E, of

the same caste with C, thinks that course polluting and destructive of religion.

'3. F freely drinks medicine prepared by Christians; but G thinks it inconsistent with the preservation of his own faith.

'4. H has no objection to inviting Europeans to his house, and entertaining them with wine and other articles; but I thinks this destroys religion.

'5. J thinks it harmless to order and drink soda-water and lemonade from Rogers's and Treacher's; but K considers him to be sacrificing his religion in so doing.

'6. L takes with him in the railway-carriage provisions prepared at home, and eats them, even when touched by Mussulmans or Dheds (sweepers); but M says that thereby religion is undone.

'7. N, while on a voyage to Zanzibar, can cook and take his meals in a Mussulman vessel; but P, of the same caste, thinks this destructive of religion.

'8. Q takes his meal even after touching a man in mourning; but R, of the same caste, considers it destructive of religion to take a meal, after touching a person in mourning, without bathing.

Besides this, there are certain forbidden practices, which are carried on secretly. Some pollute themselves by visiting the houses of prostitutes; some by smoking *ganga* and *chandul* (certain inebriating articles) at Mahomedan shops; some by secretly drinking spirituous liquors; others, again, eat and drink, and join with people of the lower castes (whom the acquisition of money has rendered important), in pleasure-parties held at gardens and other places. Some, who are transported beyond the sea to the "black waters," return in a state of pollution. Of persons with practices like these, however, no one asks a question. With regard to them it is generally observed, "They are aware of, and responsible for, their own actions."

'To this stage has the institution of caste arrived, and yet it has been considered as the root of religion! The most

surprising circumstance connected with the subject is, that no one questions or takes any notice of those Hindoos who commit robberies, and such other great crimes; who are, on that account, exiled beyond the country, and who return from the "black waters" really polluted. It is thus evident the people of every caste employ their strength in the defence of that institution only where they find it convenient to do so.'

Among the bulk of the native inhabitants of the country, the greatest variety exists both of race and of language. It is unfortunate that, hitherto, no attempt has been made to teach them English, or even to educate them. As long as the barriers of an unknown language exist between them and the ruling race, it is impossible that there should be any cordiality between the two. Our countrymen and countrywomen live in India, and, perhaps, after many years' residence, know little of the native population around them: what they have learnt of their language is no further than is needed for the simple expression of their wants. Though official gentlemen may make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular of the district, yet that is not generally the case with temporary residents. Constantly did I perceive the result of this difficulty of communication. Judging from my own experience only, I perceived how much refining influence is lost by this difficulty of communication, and how often kindly feeling in the English, which would inspire confidence in the natives, is left unexpressed from want of words. So I constantly felt. Where some knowledge of English was possessed by natives, as at Madras, there was a different look and manner among servants. I never received a more hearty 'God bless you!' than on taking leave of the Mahometan servant who had been my special attendant, and who knew some English. The

same difficulty occurs in the intercourse of natives of different parts of the country with each other. When such a man as Keshub Chunder Sen takes a four days' sail to Madras, and desires to rouse his countrymen to higher views of religion, his native Bengali is useless to him: but English is a *lingua franca* to the educated there, and in every part of the empire, in which, far better than in any of the vernaculars, he can pour forth the highest spiritual thoughts of his soul.

The uneducated, cut off from the power of communicating with higher minds in English, are debarred from the most important means of improvement. Professor Dadabhai Naoroji, in a lecture on 'European and Asiatic Races,' points out strongly the barrier to mutual understanding existing between the ruling and the ruled, through ignorance of each other's language, and the obstacle to improvement existing in the variety of tongues. 'There are several peculiar difficulties in India,' he says, 'in the way of rapid progress. Education permeates the mass very slowly on account of many different languages; the efforts of the educated to improve their countrymen remain confined within small limits; while in this country an idea in "The Times" is known over the whole length and breadth of the land within twenty-four hours, and the whole nation can act as one man.'

It is remarkable how little Hindoos of one part of the country know of those of another: the character and habits of some of the natives of the Madras Presidency were as surprising to those of the northern division of Bombay as they would be to an Englishman. There are many wild tribes in the hills in a completely savage state (as evidenced by some strange photographs in my possession), almost entirely unclothed, and looking as

if a civilised idea never entered their heads. In another part of the same Presidency is a tribe, equally unaccustomed to the habits of civilised life, but clothed and possessed of a native dignity well befitting the lords of the soil, as they regard themselves. Nothing less dignified than the care of buffaloes is worthy of the attention of the Todas. These wild tribes are not ready to accept advances from strangers. Even in the midst of the more civilised parts of the country, districts may be found inhabited by wild tribes. The Collector of the ancient city of Surat informed me that, within a hundred miles from that place, he had travelled through a part of the country where the very sight of a man clothed inspired terror; and when he required to ask his way, the natives fled from him in alarm. It is evident that until we make every effort in our power to educate those who are more within our reach than these wild tribes—those who have come in contact with the cultivated and superior portion of society, or who are somewhat connected with it by ministering to its wants in exchange for daily food—and until we have taught them a language which will bring them into sympathy, not only with their rulers, but with the educated portion of their countrymen, we shall have little hope of reaching the barbaric life existing in our midst.

We have hitherto spoken simply of barbarism. In the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces there are many tribes whose sole avocation is crime, and who make themselves known in the south by predatory raids and wandering habits. An account of these criminal tribes is given by Major Hutchinson, in his valuable work on 'Reformatory Measures connected with the Treatment of Criminals in India.' At the latter part of his volume is a painfully interesting

history of some of these. The Thugs are not yet reformed or extinct, but continue their scientific murder of the victims they can ensnare; the *poisoners*, next in order, carry out the most insidious murders with great ease—the Dacoits—the Sansees, or chief caste—and multitudes like them, and many others. *What can be done for all these?—what?* This is a question which will be partially answered in a subsequent chapter.

Major Hutchinson thus speaks of the Thugs in the same work:—

'Particular tracts were chosen in every part of India, where they could murder their victims with the greatest convenience and security; much-frequented roads, passing through extensive jungles, where the ground was soft for the grave, or the jungle thick to cover them, and the local authorities took no notice of the bodies. The Thugs speak of such places with affection and enthusiasm, as other men would of the most delightful scenes of their early life. The most noted places were among the Thugs of Hindostan. There is not among them one who doubts the divine origin of Thuggee; not one who doubts that he, and all who have followed the trade of murder, with the prescribed rites and observances, were acting under the immediate orders and auspices of the goddess Davee, Durga, Kalee, or Bhowanee, as she is indifferently called; and, consequently, there is not one who feels the slightest remorse for the murders which he may, in the course of his vocation, have perpetrated, or assisted in perpetrating. A Thug considers the persons murdered precisely in the light of victims offered up to the goddess, and he remembers them as a priest of Jupiter remembered the oxen, and a priest of Saturn the children sacrificed upon the altars. He meditates his murders without any misgivings, he perpetrates them without any emotions of pity, and he remembers them without any feelings of remorse. They trouble not his dreams, nor

does their recollection ever cause him inquietude in darkness, in solitude, or in the hour of death." '—(P. 180.)

The Thuggee Department, which has been formed for the extinction of this horrible practice, has had considerable success; but the Major gives many instances, which show how insatiable in these wretched beings is the *furore* for this fearful pursuit. A notorious Thug told the jail officials, when last captured, 'You had better hang me, for I must go on killing!' Systematic poisoning is also a scientific art among many. The Major says again:—

'From the Police Report for 1861, we learn: "The facility with which vegetable poisons are obtained, the ease with which they can be mixed with the ordinary food without causing suspicion, and the sudden insensibility of the victims, tend to make the detection and conviction of the offenders a matter of considerable difficulty. In particular cases, it has been detected amongst men calling themselves either prophets or Brahmins, and who profess to arrange marriages: the victim is induced to accompany them to the residence of the party desirous of making the marriage, and is poisoned and robbed on the road. Death does not always ensue." '—(P. 190.)

The Major informs us that plundering by 'datura' was practised by the regular Thugs as far back as 1810, as a preliminary to strangling their victims. The pursuit after poisoners did not commence till 1855; but little was done until 1858, when it was reported by Major M'Andrew, then in charge of the 'Thuggee Office,' that 64 persons had been arrested on charges of poisoning.

The Dacoits are another remarkable tribe of scientific plunderers of houses and villages: these, if possible, avoid bloodshed, and do not illtreat their victims, un-

less excited to do so in self-defence. Major Tighe, Deputy Commissioner of Umballa, gives in his reports a curious account of their mode of working. He also shows, by genealogical tables, how the gangs are connected with the old 'stock,' and how the members of each gang are connected with each other by marriage, &c., proving indisputably that the crime is hereditary, and followed as a profession from father to son.

Of these, and of various other professional criminals—swindlers, coiners, cattle-stealers—and of the means adopted to free the country from their ravages, the Major gives a most curious and interesting account, for which we must refer to his volume. In a future chapter, some notice will be taken of a very remarkable and successful attempt to reclaim to a settled mode of life some wandering thievish tribes.

From a notice by A. B. Court, Esq., C.S., and Inspector-General of Police, North-Western Provinces, Major Hutchinson also makes interesting extracts. One tribe has adopted the special profession of stealing from tents; they wander 'over all India in small gangs, attaching themselves to the camps of regiments, officers, and native chiefs, returning with their plunder in April and May.' The Major continues:—

'Scarcely less troublesome are the Sunoriahs, a tribe inhabiting several parts of the Lullutpore district, and the Duttia territory. From time immemorial they have followed the sole profession of thieving, but, in the course of years (probably from the fact of their always marrying in and in, and exclusively in their own tribe), their numbers diminished, and they recruited themselves by the purchase of children of other castes—"Thakoors," "Ahects," "Kunjars," "Telees," "Kachees," and "Chumars"—indiscriminately. These children were in their youth taught the particular branch of the profession of their adopted fathers, in which their assistance was

necessary, and were made use of by the Sunoriahs to effect their projected thefts. When they outgrew the age in which they could be useful as apprentices, they in their turn became master-thieves. They choose some large city, not less than 100 miles distant from their homes, as their field of operations, and set out for it in gangs of about 60. When they get near it, they separate into smaller gangs, dress up the children as beggars, and others as rich and respectable men. The latter go to some well-known "sahookar," and begin bargaining, and looking at his valuable things; in the meantime the beggar comes up, and manages to abstract some of the things. If he is found out, the "rich man" often persuades the shopkeeper to let him off with a flogging, on account of his extreme youth and apparent poverty. . . . The *wandering* tribes of professional criminals are large in number. The Sanseeahs, Kunjurahs, and Harboorahs are the most notorious. The men scatter about in search of plunder. The younger women attach themselves to village proprietors and others, who give shelter and assistance to the tribe; and though search of the camp will seldom fail to recover stolen property, the only offenders to be found are decrepid old women and children, with whom it is impossible to deal, and the seizure of whom necessitates the care and keep of numerous donkeys, goats, and dogs, which they invariably possess in considerable numbers. The Sanseeahs are addicted to the manufacture of counterfeit coin, in addition to thieving. The only way of dealing with criminal *tribes* seemed to be, by detaching a police constable or officer to accompany and keep watch over their camps.'—(P. 207.)

More need hardly be said to bear out the assertion at the commencement of the chapter, respecting the marvellous variety existing among the inhabitants of this one country. The contrast between the enlightened and educated Hindoos and Parsees on the one hand, and such savage tribes as these on the other, needs no comment; the British nation may well rejoice, if it

has in part accomplished its grand mission in the East, by helping the former in their efforts for self-improvement, and bringing the latter within the pale of civilisation, while protecting the country from their ravages!

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATION.

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS—FACTORY SCHOOLS—SCHOOLS OF ART.

HAVING, in the two preceding chapters, briefly glanced at some of the features of Hindoo society which most prominently forced themselves on my notice, and mentioned some of the various agencies which are now being carried into operation by voluntary effort, or by individuals in the ordinary intercourse of society—I now proceed to speak of the subjects which most occupied my attention, in connection with the action of the Government.

The first of these is Education. No one interested in this important subject can visit India without being struck with surprise and admiration at the number and excellent management of the schools, which attract the attention in every part of the country. The English are accustomed to associate the idea of heathenism with barbarism. The amount of education the traveller discovers in all those with whom he can converse—the excellent schools, filled with attentive scholars, and conducted by well-trained masters—the handsome colleges, frequented by students from various parts of the country—the universities, open to all, without distinction of creed or colour, and thronged with aspirants to academical honours;—all these things impress the mind with aston-

ishment. They at first give the impression that the state of general education in India is superior to that in Great Britain, and that the Government concerns itself far more with the education of its distant subjects than with those at home. The former of these impressions will be modified considerably by a deeper insight into the working and results of the system; the latter is certainly true, and ought, for many reasons, to be so, in the infant state of the educational movement in Hindostan.

A mere glance at the elaborate official reports of the Directors of Public Instruction for the three Presidencies, shows that, to give any adequate account of what is being done in India by Great Britain to instruct the natives of that country, would require a volume rather than a few pages. Having, then, in the course of this narrative, given some general idea of the working, both of Government and of Missionary Schools, a brief sketch only will be here made, introductory to some observations, for which I beg to ask the serious consideration of the reader.

We learn from a valuable paper on 'The Progress of Education in Bengal,' read before the Bengal Social Science Association, by Baboo Kissory Chand Mittra, that the first important move towards the establishment of English education was made by David Hare, in co-operation with the most influential natives, in May 1816, when a meeting was held at the residence of Sir E. H. East, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, which led to the establishment of the Hindoo College. How important was this first step, and how great were the difficulties which had to be overcome, is learned from the following passage in Mr. Mittra's paper:—

'Though he did not attend this preliminary meeting, there was one who, nevertheless, shared with David Hare the credit

of originating the idea of the institution of the Hindoo College, almost from its inception, and whose name will be therefore inseparably associated with its foundation. As a moral and religious reformer, Rammohun Roy had, from a very early period, felt the imperative necessity of imparting a superior English education to his countrymen, as the best and most efficacious means of achieving his end. He had established an English school at his own expense. He had heartily entered into the plans of David Hare, and zealously aided in their development. But as an uncompromising enemy of Hindoo idolatry, he had incurred the hostility of his orthodox countrymen, and he apprehended that his presence at the meeting might embarrass its deliberations, and probably defeat its object. And he was not mistaken. Some of the native gentlemen, the representatives of Hindooism, actually told Sir Hyde East that they would gladly accord their support to the proposed college, if Rammohun Roy were not connected with it. Rammohun Roy willingly allowed himself to be set aside, rather than that, by his active co-operation, the project should fail of its accomplishment.'

Fifty years have passed; a great work has been done —an immense change has been effected. The writer thus concludes his paper:—

'I do not regard education as a panacea for all the evils with which this country is afflicted; but I am convinced it will prove the most mighty instrument for improving and elevating her. I look forward to a mind-illuminating and soul-quickening education as the most efficient means for effecting such a regeneration in my countrymen as will make them, under the guidance of an enlightened Government, willing and able instruments to work out their prosperity and happiness. I do not despair of this result. When we consider what was the state of the Hindoo mind half a century ago, and contrast it with what we now see—when we recollect the once dead level of ignorance, and its first breaking-up; how the entire national mind was dwarfed by superstition, and

fettered by prejudices; how it has since begun to throw off those fetters, has risen above Brahminical domination, and asserted its independence—I am disposed to be sanguine, and fervently feel that there is ample ground for thankfulness to the Almighty Disposer of events.'

The Director of Public Instruction in Bengal informs us, in his Report for the year ending April 30, 1866, that the colleges and schools maintained with aid from the State amount to 2,561, being attended by 113,862 pupils. In addition to these, there are 197 private schools, attended by 7,443 students, receiving no aid from Government, which have sent in returns. Besides these, are a large number of small indigenous *patshallas*, or village-schools, carried on in a shed, or under a verandah, of which there is no account. That a high education is given in the Government-aided schools is shown by the fact that, in the same year, the number of candidates for the entrance university examination was 1,500; of these, 1,321 were from Bengal, and the remaining 179 from the North-Western Provinces. Of the candidates from Bengal, 533 were successful. There were 122 candidates for the B.A. examination, of whom 116 were from Bengal; 75 of these were successful. For the M.A. degree there were 18 candidates, of whom 15 passed successfully. At the Law examination there were 22 candidates, of whom 11 passed for the degree of B.L.; 13 candidates, at the same time, received diplomas as Licentiates in Law. In the medical examination, there were 5 candidates, all of whom obtained the degree of B.M. For the first examination for the licence in Medicine and Surgery, there were 35 candidates, of whom 10 passed; for the second examination there were 26 candidates, of whom 20 passed successfully.

The Director of Public Instruction in Madras reports that, on April 30, 1866, there were 1,261 institutions receiving aid from Government, attended by 45,056 scholars—showing an increase of 278 schools in the year. These were chiefly private schools, a great stimulus having been given to voluntary effort by the grant-in-aid system. In the Madras Presidency, grants are given in augmentation of the salaries of such teachers as have received a certificate, and in aid of all the necessary expenses; these grants are of course dependent on the satisfactory state of the respective schools, and afford great stimulus to their improvement. The system appears to work well, for not only has it led to the establishment of several new schools, but many institutions, formerly unqualified to claim aid from the State, have worked up to such a point as to allow of their obtaining it.

Each Presidency has its own special educational development. In Bombay, we learn, from the Report for 1866-67, that considerable benefit has arisen from the system of payment by results, which has been introduced by the Director of Public Instruction, Sir A. Grant, into the aided schools. This is not shackled by the necessity of having certificated masters, as at present in England, the results being considered as sufficiently indicating the skill of the teacher. Here we find 1,632 Government colleges and schools, 56 aided schools, and 66 schools not receiving aid, but only inspection. The system of payment by results in schools is not confined, as in ours, to elementary instruction, but embraces the higher branches of knowledge; this involves such enormous labour, that, without an extension of the staff, it appears impossible to continue it. A system of local assessment for education has been very beneficial. The Director says:—

'The operations of the local cess, as administered, under certain rules, by independent local committees, has done great things in the way of providing funds for vernacular schools; and at the same time has created a remarkable interest in education throughout the country districts, wherever the cess is levied.'

The Report of W. A. Russell, Esq., Educational Inspector of the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency, confirms this view. He says:—

'The cess operations have already begun to bring the subject of popular education before the masses and their rulers, in a somewhat different and clearer light than before. *The people are beginning to look on schools as necessary popular institutions*, not merely as a part of the administrative machinery of a foreign Government, with which they have little or no concern. The ratepayers now want something in return for their money, and the school attendance of the agricultural classes is increasing. . . . Another good effect of the cess is the good example it sets to inamdars, jagheerdars, &c., and their people, who see its operations—however humble at present—in the neighbouring British territory. For instance, I and my deputies have been asked, by the people of non-Government villages, to get the school cess levied for them.'—(P. 51.)

Thus to excite, in even a small part of India, a distinct desire in the community to obtain education, not only for the higher classes, but for the people generally, and to be ready to tax themselves to supply a felt want, is indeed a great triumph to those who have wisely and perseveringly devised and executed so complete a system. When, also, it is found that neighbouring districts, not under British control, so perceive the great value of the system adopted, as to request British co-operation in carrying out a similar one, we may indeed

feel satisfaction in the work we have done in the country under our care.

Since we have now reached the very important point we aimed at, and have so widely established educational institutions in India, and excited a desire in the superior classes of its inhabitants to avail themselves of these, it becomes us to consider if the natures and wants of those whom we are educating, would lead us to make any improvement or modifications in the system which is being adopted. I trust that I shall not be considered guilty of presumption in making the following remarks, suggested by my observations in my travels. I make them with more confidence, and with the hope that they will be kindly considered by those in whose care is placed this great charge, because I found the views I am about to state in harmony with those of official and other gentlemen experienced in education in India.

The education given in India is solely directed to the exercise of the intellectual faculties, and to the acquirement of particular branches of knowledge, which will enable the student to discharge certain duties in life, whereby he may obtain a maintenance—or university honours, which may lead the way to preferment. The examinations leading to these are probably similar to those undergone in England to obtain the same distinctions. The general intellectual status of the schools appeared to be superior to what we usually see in England, and the youths more devoted to their studies than is common among us. It is not, however, easy to make a comparison in this respect, since the youths attending them are probably of a very different grade of society from those found in our National and British Schools. The circumstance, however, of the Hindoos requiring to master a foreign language, as the

basis of their future attainments—not only to study in it various branches of knowledge, but also to acquire the modes of thought of a quarter of the globe in every way different from their own—necessarily compels an amount of application in those particular branches of study which are needed for the examinations. It is evident that this must require an immense amount of mental labour; and, indeed, I learned that it was not unusual for boys to be at school eight or nine years in preparation for college. Now, in our own country, school learning forms but a small part of the real education of our youth. The home influences begin this; we know well in England what these may be, and generally are. In our public schools, the actual preparation and saying of lessons form but a portion of the education, physical and moral as well as intellectual, which the boys receive. Even in this last, public attention has of late years been drawn to the necessity of imparting a more varied culture, and of developing the mental powers more fully than can be done by an exclusive study of one kind, however excellent in itself. Various testimonies have likewise been borne to the truth of the apparently paradoxical assertion, that as much may be learnt in three hours as in six. If three of the six hours devoted to education are employed in varied development of the powers, whether physical, æsthetic, or moral, the mental faculties are in a more healthy and vigorous state, and more capable of action and of the reception of knowledge. This is well known to those who understand education. The importance also, to the young, of due relaxation after mental application, is practically acknowledged, by the allowance of two hours (in the public schools), after the morning lessons, before resuming them in the afternoon.

In the Hindoo schools, on the contrary, the ordinary school-hours are from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M., with only half an hour, or an hour, of interval. The hottest and most oppressive hours of the day are thus entirely devoted to intellectual culture. There is, then, no cause for wonder, that the exhausted mental state induces extreme physical inactivity, and that not the slightest desire exists to take bodily exercise after school-hours. Now, it is of course well known, that the national tendencies and the climate alike cause an indisposition to active exercise. This physical inaction is greatly lamented by Mr. Woodrow, the Educational Inspector of the Lower Division of Bengal, in his Report for 1864–65. After speaking of the dreadful effects of the cyclone, the destruction of houses, and the fatal effects of exposure to the women and children, he thus continues:—

'Then, again, trees were blown down into tanks, and there were no men to pull them out, for labourers had to attend to themselves and their families. Brahmins and Kayasths were too proud themselves to pull the trees out from their own tanks. Hence the leaves rotted, the water was spoiled and became putrid, the fish died, and what had been a source of health and cleanliness became a chief cause of disease. Europe, as far as I know, tells the story of only one man too proud and too foolish to use sufficient exertion to save himself from death; Bengal can show thousands of such instances in this very year. If these men only had fallen victims to their pride, common sense might have returned a verdict of "served them right;" but their children and families, and the whole neighbourhood, suffered. I regret that I have found teachers who see nothing unusual, or wrong, or contemptible in the idiotic helplessness of such unhappy pride. There is some defect in our system of education, since educated Hindoo gentlemen, of good caste, still continue to regard physical exertion as beneath their dignity. Because it never has been their custom to pull at ropes or bear burdens, they object to do so, even on an emer-

gency like the cyclone. Many had the knowledge to foresee the bad consequences of allowing trees to rot in in their tanks, but few had the will to remedy the evil. In their case knowledge was not power. It gives a mournful prospect for this country, that men of influence allow their sons to consider feebleness of body an indication of high social rank. The young gentlemen of Ooterparrah persecuted a master of the school, and complained to me of him, because he very properly ridiculed their absurd notion, that none but a coolie would walk three miles in a day, and that no gentleman would be guilty of such a servile act! These young people, instead of taking as ensamples the great and noble men who here and there stand out as worthy of all imitation in the recorded line of their distant ancestors, seem to imitate the Hindoo queen, whose nerves were so sensitive, that she fainted from agony when a flower fell on her foot! Such young gentlemen as these are India's worst enemies. Englishmen, acting from without, may deplore, but they cannot change, these perverse notions. The influential people of the country alone can work the reformation. Physical education was tried some years ago in our colleges, and Government spent a large sum on gymnasia at Hooghly and Calcutta; but the plan failed, because those who ought to have had sufficient patriotism to encourage it, were too wedded to custom to give any countenance to the innovation. Cricket has been tried at several places, and sometimes a decent eleven has been trained; but the whole thing depends on the energy of some one European teacher, and when he leaves the cricket club collapses. Cricket is not indigenous in India, and exists among Bengali boys as an exotic plant, which shrivels up on the first adverse wind.'—(Pp. 4 and 5 of Appendix.)

Sir A. Grant, Director of Public Instruction at Bombay, draws attention to the same subject in his Report for the year 1867. He says:—

'Among the points brought to the notice of Government by Miss Carpenter during her visit to Bombay, was the want of

provision for the physical development of pupils in Government schools. Viewed as a general question, in reference to the different classes of schools, to local circumstances throughout the Presidency, to arrangements of school-hours, to sites for playgrounds or gymnasia, to the provision of gymnastic teachers, and, above all, to the mode of meeting the necessary expenses, this subject is a large one. I have collected reports upon it, and hope, after due consultation with the educational officers, to submit proposals to Government. I may say here, however, that among the Deccan population, there is a considerable fondness for active and athletic games, which might well be recognised in connection with our schools.'—(P. 51.)

The erection of gymnastic apparatus in connection with the schools would be, of itself, useless. Yet the existing evil does not appear to be one which it is essentially impossible to overcome. Native schoolmasters told me that, under other circumstances, Hindoo boys were active and lively, and greatly lamented the present state of things, as permanently injurious to the physical development of the race. In the Martiniere School at Calcutta, for Christian boys, whether English, Eurasians, or Hindoos, I was informed that the natives are equally active in their games with the English boys, and take as much pleasure in them. If gymnastic exercises were to occupy two half-hours of the school-time, under the superintendence of a master, with incentives held out to success, it cannot be doubted that an important step would thus be taken in the real education of the Hindoo youth, without diminishing their intellectual progress.

Again, while I was astonished at the progress made in the various schools, yet it was evident that the answers given were rather the result of a well-trained memory, than of actual thought; that the students rather aimed

at a word-knowledge, which would enable them to pass examinations, than at really improving their minds. Excellent libraries appeared generally unused, and there seemed no desire to read books which did not form part of their curriculum. Some instruction in physical science and in natural history, given in the common schools, illustrated by the admirable diagrams in use at home, and by natural objects of interest, would doubtless awaken and enlarge the mind. At present, the scholars must have a very vague idea connected with numerous words and allusions in their school-books, which such lessons might remove; they would then learn things as well as words. Another hour daily devoted to such instruction, illustrated by experiments, and also to some instruction in the æsthetic sciences, music and drawing, would be most important.

'In all schemes of education now being followed out,' says Baboo Koilas Chundra Bose, in his paper read before the Bengal Social Science Association, 'the teaching of music should have a prominent place; and when our daughters and our wives are able to sing to us with their charming voices, or to play upon some of our favourite instruments, we shall have a home made sweet, for the want of which we are now only full of vain regrets.' He tells us that, in ancient India, music and dancing were considered as the most necessary accomplishments of women, and is so now among almost all the Indian races, the Mahrattas and the Hindoos of the upper provinces especially; it is, however, forbidden among the ladies of the lower provinces of Bengal, in consequene of its association with persons of low character. In the boys' schools in India, I never heard even an attempt to sing in chorus; and yet the Hindoos are fond of music, and possess a highly

scientific system of their own. A music lesson may be made a high exercise of the mind as well as of the taste. With respect to drawing, there cannot be a doubt that the Hindoos have very considerable capability of excellence in colour and form, which wants only proper development. If instruction in this were made a part of the regular school routine, it would be a great relief from severer studies, and call out the talent of youths who may afterwards devote themselves more fully to it. The expense need not be serious, as the services of one master of each of these departments might be divided among a number of schools, making the cost to each very small. But if it were large, is not the work a great and most important one, of educating a nation?—should we not devote to it all the resources which our own long experience has shown to be the best, to attain the end desired? We have done very much in exciting native effort to co-operate in the work; let us now go on to a higher position. We must not forget that, at present, there are not, in India, all those means of improvement surrounding the young which we have at home. In England, working-men, and even schoolboys, have excellent lectures addressed to them on different subjects; superior minds are brought, in various ways, in contact with them. In India, a long time must elapse ere this can be the case, though the enlightened are now beginning to desire such opportunities of improvement. In the meantime, we can do much by opening, to the youth of the present generation, sources of knowledge which they may, in their turn, impart to others.

The view I have here expressed with respect to the injurious tendency of the present great and somewhat exclusive strain on the intellectual powers of the

natives, has been felt and pointed out by themselves. In the address on 'Education' by Baboo Kissory Chand Mittra, already quoted, he states that he does not believe that the Calcutta University has given that powerful and valuable stimulus to our colleges and schools, which could reasonably be expected, and thus points out what he considers the cause of this:—

'The system of education adopted by the university is deficient in several elements for ensuring success. It is based on "cramming," and is, I conceive, calculated to turn out intellectual machines, and not intellectual men. The subjects of examination are, in my judgment, far too numerous to be mastered, or even to be studied to any purpose, by any but the ablest candidate. The mind is overlaid with such an immense quantity of undigested learning, that little or no room is left for its unfettered action. It must be slowly and perfectly digested before it can be assimilated with the mental system. There is a point of saturation in the mind, as Dr. Abernethy says; and if a man "takes something more into it than it can hold, it can only have the effect of pushing something else out." The royal road to knowledge has not yet been discovered. I hold cramming to be an evil. . . . I could point to the cases of several alumni of the university, with whom I have been brought into contact, as conclusive evidence of the truth of my contention. These young men have laboured very hard, as they must labour, for the academic distinctions they have obtained; but, in conversing with them, I have found that they have not retained their knowledge, because they had no time to master it, or to make it their own. In this respect I am able to declare, from a pretty extensive observation, that the mental training imparted by the old Hindoo College was more healthy than that of the University, and was better calculated to train the students to habits of vigorous and independent thought."—(P. 15.)

At the conclusion of Baboo Kanny Loll Dey's paper

on 'Health,' also quoted in the last chapter, he gives a similar opinion respecting the physical effect of the present system:—

'It is not necessary for me to repeat a well-known established fact, that, from the dependence which the mental faculties have upon the brain (which is itself a portion of the animal system), a moderate exercise of these faculties is necessary to insure to it a healthy action, and that undue exertion of any one of these faculties has as much a pernicious effect upon the system as the disuse of the whole. But I must notice the state of health of the youth of this country competing for scholastic and academic honours. The rules under which these honours may be gained make it imperative upon them to undergo a degree of mental exertion, which in some cases wholly undermines the system, or extinguishes its vitality, and in others sows the germs of those diseases from which they suffer in after-life. The great defect in the present system of awarding academic honours, lies in the fact that, as the condition of gaining these honours is proficiency in certain branches of knowledge, implying a ripeness of the intellect, the absence or want of that maturity is made up by putting to the stretch one or two faculties, of which memory performs a prominent part. We all know that, for securing an adequate proportion of intellectual health, all the faculties of the mind must be equally exercised, and that overtaxing one perniciously acts upon the whole man, physical and intellectual.'—(P. 116.)

It has been already remarked, that the educational institutions of the country are adapted to meet the wants of the higher classes, rather than the lower. It was considered best by the Government first to awaken the superior grades of society to the importance of education for themselves, and the hope was entertained that, through them, the inferior part of the population would be reached. That hope does not, at present, appear likely to be realised. I never met with

any educated Hindoo who showed the smallest anxiety respecting the educational condition of the 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'—those who do the work of beasts of burden, without being treated with the consideration which the lower animals would receive from those whose religion strongly inculcates humanity. 'We have so much to do with our own education,' urged in extenuation a highly educated gentleman; 'that we have no time to think of that of the lower orders.' The myriads remain in a state of gross ignorance and superstition, inconceivable to those who live in a Christian country. We have still, indeed, in our own country, a substratum of ignorance and degradation, whence springs an ever-abundant crop of pauperism and crime; we lament that twenty long years of expostulation and entreaty, for those who cannot help themselves, have not yet moved our rulers to provide education for those who cannot obtain it unaided, even if they had learned to desire it. But Christian workers abound in England, who are ready to take up the cause of the neglected and destitute children—who recognise the grand truth taught by our holy religion, of the personal equality of all before God, and of the right inherent in every human being to have the means of learning his duty to himself, as well as to his own country. Hence there can be no spot in our islands so benighted and neglected, as not to be brought into contact with some higher agency. But it is otherwise in India. It was shown, in the last chapter, that a deep gulf there separates the higher and educated from the lower portion of society; and the very civilising influences with which the superior classes have been for some time in contact, through acquaintance with our literature, and considerable official intercourse with

Europeans, serves only to make the gulf more impassable. There are no common thoughts and sympathies between them, except in a common love of country. Surely it is fitting that the Educational Department of the Government should now undertake the work of extending its efforts to those who cannot, and will not without stimulus, attempt to obtain it for themselves! The evil of allowing the present state of things to continue without remedy, will be increasingly felt. The enormous mass of dense ignorance existing in the country, is already weighing down those who are wishing to break from the shackles of custom and superstition. Those whose personal interest leads them to desire to perpetuate the present state of things, avail themselves of the debasing ignorance of the masses to strengthen their own power, and to persecute any enlightened men who attempt to disenthral themselves or others. The native prince, or Maharajah, who is himself an enlightened man, and in sympathy with Christianity, might lead with him thousands, who regard him almost as a deified person, capable of absolving from sin, were they also sufficiently educated to comprehend the reasonableness of his arguments; as it is, he feels himself powerless, and succumbs to the necessity laid upon him, by the masses around, to yield to their idolatrous practices, rather than to lead them to something better.

In all extension of educational effort, in every portion of the community, whether high or low, it appears to me of the highest importance that the study of English should be encouraged in every possible way. It has been already shown how great a barrier is raised by the want of it, between races among whom the greatest cordiality should exist. Not only so, but our language

is the great medium for opening the mind to civilised influences and higher thoughts, which cannot be conveyed through the vernacular. 'Why should we three be conversing together in English,' said a young native gentleman to his brother-in-law, 'rather than in our own native language, but because we can better convey in it the thoughts of civilised life?' The vernacular need not be lost because English is introduced. The natives have peculiar facility in the acquisition of language. We have seen that, in a Madras common school, each boy was expected to study at least four languages. There need be no compulsory effort, gradually to accomplish this. All youths trained in Government normal schools should be required thoroughly to master the English language, before being permitted to be authorised teachers; they will thus have their minds enlightened, even if they are not required to teach the language. I met with many masters in schools who could not speak English. Many gentlemen of experience stated to me their opinion, that the proceedings in courts of justice should always be in English, as a means, more efficacious than any other, of stimulating to the acquisition of the language. An interpreter then, as now, could act as a medium of intercommunication.

Enormous labour and expense have been devoted to the translation of English works into the vernacular. It is quite impossible that the real spirit of them can be thus preserved. Each language has its own peculiar genius, which cannot be infused into another. No translation of the Greek and Latin classics can do justice to the original. Our own language is not moulded on a scientific model, like those ancient classics; but absorbing into itself various other tongues, made up of idioms and metaphysical expressions fused into one

marvellous whole—which expresses, better than any other, the highest thoughts of which the human mind is capable—is, above all others, ill adapted for translation. Who would recognise Milton or Shakspeare in the most perfect French? On meeting with a passage from my own writings translated into French, I could hardly believe that the original was my own composition. A native gentleman had an elaborate scientific work translated into his own tongue; on being asked the meaning of some passages, he was obliged to retranslate it into English before he could himself understand it. Our devotional poetry is full of metaphors, which are founded on our own peculiar ideas. I have been told that, when these are translated into the vernacular, they often present passages most incomprehensible to the native mind.

Taking every means in our power to give correct instruction in English, need not involve the loss of any native works which are worth preserving; but the ordinary vernacular literature—as I have been frequently informed by both Hindoo and English gentlemen—is so replete with superstition and idolatry, not to say impurity, and so calculated to debase rather than to elevate, and the ordinary language of the lower classes is so full of what is essentially coarse and low, that it does seem unwise to perpetuate it by any special efforts of our own. Why should we not adopt the same course which was carried out successfully in our own islands? The barriers which formerly existed, from diversity of language, are melting away, while the people follow entirely their own inclinations; the Welsh carefully preserve the grand literature of their ancient language, while the educated now adopt our own as a vernacular.

The possession of a common language and literature has in it an enormous power of fusing into harmony different nations. The African race in the United States cannot be considered, originally, superior to the tribes of India. Yet, after centuries of illusage, slavery, and ignorance, now that their fetters are removed, they show a power of improving, and a comprehension of the laws of moral and social usages in our country, to which those have warmly testified who have worked among them, and which must be attributed chiefly to the possession of a common language as a medium of thought, as well as sympathy in a common religion.

An important agency for educating the lower portion of the population, will be by connecting schools with all factories. In England it was found necessary to make this compulsory, for the protection of the children. The 'Factory Act' was confined to one class of factories; recent inquiries have shown that, in our country, it is generally needed in all. The factory system is only now beginning to be established in India, and claims attention as what may become a most important agency. We have already spoken of the jute factory at Burranagore, near Calcutta. When the famine was raging around, that town did not suffer, as did others, the inhabitants being able to meet the high price of provisions by receiving good and regular wages. The establishment of schools in connection with it is the next desideratum. An elaborate work has just appeared, entitled, 'How to Develope Productive Industry in India and the East', by Mr. R. P. P. R. Colá, himself the late sole proprietor of the Arkwright Cotton Mills, near Bombay. This native gentleman strongly states his opinion of the importance, to the factory itself, of education being connected with its operations. He says:—

'Every factory where boys and girls are employed, ought to have a schoolroom attached; and half an hour, mornings and evenings, should be devoted to giving lessons to the children in reading, writing, and simple sums. It will be found that, after receiving this elementary instruction, order will prevail in the factory; they will be enabled to distinguish their numbers on the roll-call, which will save time, and avoid confusion on the pay-day; and they will attend to their work much better. It will impress their character and intelligence; by its influence their whole spirit will be moulded, if properly directed; and they will enjoy the blessings of reading and writing, as long as they live.'—(P. 317.)

This gentleman likewise shows a benevolent and enlightened interest in the personal convenience and improvement of the operatives, and has become practically acquainted with what has been done by several large manufacturers in England. If his suggestions are carried out, each factory will be a centre of civilisation and self-improvement, and a blessing to India.

The development of artistic powers in the young Hindoo is closely connected with the progress of industry, and is essential to its satisfactory development. Whoever looks at the exquisitely beautiful wood-carving, as well as the silver-work, executed in the Bombay Presidency, and learns that the workman himself has derived the pattern (as he expresses it) 'from his own heart,' can doubt that much natural genius must exist in the race, as well as a wonderful delicacy of touch, and patience in the execution of what is actually conceived. The same features are observable in the carvings on the Hindoo temples. Their textile manufactures are also remarkable for much taste in the arrangement of patterns, and a beautiful, though very peculiar, arrangement of colour. Combined with these

excellences, is a most remarkable deficiency in the drawing or sculpturing of the human figure, or even of animals. This seems very extraordinary, as they have excellent studies always before them, and it is difficult to discover why they show this peculiar deficiency. The fact itself struck me very forcibly. Everywhere did I search for some trace of a true, beautiful, or elevated conception of the human figure, in their ornaments, or the representations of their deities. Nor did the noblest animals fare better. The lions guarding the inner temple at Elephanta, are quite libels on the King of the Beasts, and a photograph of a colossal sacred bull, adorned with jewellery, makes him look somewhat like a gigantic sheep. They do not even appear to comprehend accurate pictorial representations of living objects. I heard some amusing stories of the mistakes of native servants, who wished to compliment the performances of their masters. To teach the real forms of natural objects, is in itself alone excellent moral training, as well as artistically valuable, and every well-developed school of art is an important agency in the education of the country. A great difficulty presents itself, at the very outset, in the deficiency of any good works of art, ancient or modern, to guide the studies of learners. Very few specimens of the works of the great masters in painting or sculpture are to be found in India; it may be questioned whether any exist in the country. No Europeans of opulence go to India intending to make it a permanent abode, and those who are there for a temporary sojourn, would not wish to expose valuable works of art to the dangers of a tropical climate. Casts from fine antiques, and copies of paintings, are all that can be expected to be sent to India, and these are rarely to be found. It becomes,

therefore, very necessary to develope a native school of art, founded on scientific principles. A 'School of Industrial Art' was established several years ago in Calcutta, and enriched with many valuable copies of antiques, through the kindness of Hodgson Pratt, Esq., C.S. This school was remodelled, with the name of the 'Government School of Art,' and placed under the control of Mr. H. H. Locke, as Principal, in June 1865. Its progress in this short period gives promise of future success.

The Bombay School of Art has in it the elements of much excellence; and in sculpture, ornamental painting, and other departments, appears likely to call forth native genius; no suitable premises are, however, yet provided for it.

The School of Industrial Arts at Madras includes, as its name implies, various branches of industrial instruction. Dr. Hunter thus speaks of it in the Third Annual Report:—

'Four hundred and seventy-two East Indian and native pupils have already received instruction in the Madras School of Arts, and many of them are now able to earn a livelihood, or to contribute towards the support of their families, by their proficiency in drawing. A number of teachers and monitors have been carefully trained, to superintend the rudimentary instructions in drawing, painting, lithography, and engraving. A few are also qualified to impart instruction in pottery, the manufacture of good building materials, and the uses of plaster of Paris for house decorations. Should more instructors be required, they will be selected from the most proficient of the pupils. A large artistic library, and a progressive series of studies in the different branches of art and manufacture, have already been

purchased for the school; funds are, however, requisite for renting or erecting an appropriate building, and it is proposed to commence a subscription in Madras, and throughout the Presidency, for this object. Parties have already shown a willingness to contribute, and the smallest sums will be most thankfully received. Instructions will be given in the following branches of art and industry—drawing, painting, lithography, wood-engraving, and (if possible) printing, pottery, and the manufacture of the building materials required for the school, and the uses of plaster of Paris in decoration.'

The Government then included it among educational institutions, and its operations were greatly extended, embracing instruction in various industrial arts. The Report for 1862 states: 'A number of rival drawing-schools have started into existence, and have met with very fair encouragement. Drawing has also been introduced into several public institutions in Madras, and other parts of India, as a branch of general education.' The Report is illustrated with beautiful specimens of wood and copperplate engraving, with designs of a useful and ornamental character. A later Report mentions photography as one of the arts successfully taught in the school, and contains reports of a large quantity of work executed. The success of the school is shown by the fact, that numerous applications have been received, from different parts of India, for advice in starting, and assistance in improving, Schools of Art. Important aid would be given to this institution, by the presentation to it of works of art, especially good water-colour drawings.

How much interest these schools are exciting in the country, may be gathered from the following extracts from letters I have received from the superintendent of

the Madras School, Dr. Hunter, whose enthusiasm in his work kindles that of others. Though private letters, I trust that he will excuse my here copying them, in the hope that my doing so may lead to his obtaining the help he desires:—

'Madras: August 14, 1867.

'I had a most delightful tour of inspection of Schools of Art and Exhibitions in different parts of the country, commencing at Bombay, Surat, Poona, Nagpore, Jubbulpore, Agra, Jeypore, &c., and ending in Calcutta. (I will send you a copy of the printed report). I saw a great deal that was of interest, and I hope that I shall be able to turn my travels to useful account, on behalf of art and industry. We have now 25 Schools of Art to assist, and we are busy sending drawing-lessons, etchings, woodcuts, engravings, teachers, and tools all over the country. We have assisted schools at Surat, Raipore, Jeypore in Rajpootana, and Jubbulpore, and I am now busy preparing to render further assistance to other schools. I have just returned from our usual holiday trip, and we have added largely to our store of sketches, photos, and casts from nature. We got seventy-seven large photos of hill-tribes, scenery, and plants in the Salem district. I will send you copies of some of the best, as soon as I can print them. I also spent a great deal of time in sketching from nature, and was out almost all day, from daylight till dark, taking careful outline sketches, which I afterwards coloured on the spot. I also tried your method of painting at once from nature with the brush in colours, and got some good effects with bold drawing, which will be of use. Will you kindly let me know if Mrs. —— will undertake to do coloured drawings for use in Schools of Art, for remuneration, and at what price? If not, perhaps you could recommend us to some one who would do so. I should like the drawings sent to my agents, Messrs. Coulthard & Co., 12 Abchurch Lane, London, who will forward them.'

Madras: December 16, 1867.

'I am looking out anxiously for the watercolour drawings from your sister, and hope they will prove of use to us. We have now 29 Schools of Art looking to us for advice, assistance, tools, and lessons. Most of these, however, are in the Industrial Art line. I hope the fine arts will spread afterwards. We must first try to teach the poorer classes to earn a livelihood, and then introduce higher walks of art.'

There, surely, are many in our country who will gladly aid in so easy and yet useful a way, by sending good coloured drawing and specimens of art, which may serve as models in these schools.

It is not the object of this work to enter into details respecting the various excellent institutions which exist in India. While the Government has made it an espécial care to attend to the educational wants of the native inhabitants, the English residents do not neglect those of the young of their own race, but natives of the country. Mention has been made already of many excellent institutions for them in each Presidency. In Bombay, an Education Society for English children was established as early as 1815. The society maintains two schools at Byculla, within the island of Bombay, and an infant school at Poona, containing in all about 400 children. Much sympathy is very properly felt, by Anglo-Indians, with the children of European parents in this foreign country, and it is evidently of great importance that they should be well brought up. If they are stimulated to active exertion and independent sprit, they may become very valuable members of the community. The girls, especially, should be prepared to discharge well the duties which would devolve on them in their own country; and having received from early years a good education, might eventually, as at home,

be trained as teachers. I could not, however, but be struck with the fact that, while in all the Mission Boarding Schools for girls the strictest economy prevailed, and the young persons were well trained for their future domestic position; yet in the English Boarding Schools, generally, there was much greater expenditure, and the young persons did not appear to feel an anxiety to prepare themselves for their future duties in life.

On the whole, however, we may well feel encouraged by what has already been done in India to promote education. What we have accomplished may well stimulate us to yet further progress, being well aware, that to give a really sound education to the young, is the best means we can adopt to improve the next generation.

CHAPTER V.

FEMALE EDUCATION.

No doubt can now exist, in the minds of those who are acquainted with the actual condition of India, that a desire for female education is rapidly spreading among enlightened Hindoos. It is equally certain that, wherever any real progress has been made, with the co-operation of native gentlemen, in the establishment of good native girls' schools, the want is strongly felt of trained female teachers.

From the materials now before me—including the written opinions on this subject of native gentlemen, elaborate essays, leaders in native newspapers, proceedings of native societies, as well as the Reports of the Directors of Public Instruction, all animated by the same earnest feeling, and concurring in the same general views—a volume might be far more easily prepared than one brief chapter.

The reader will, however, it is hoped, have gained a correct impression of the general state of the subject, from the perusal of the foregoing narrative, and from the accounts of my visits to various schools. It is proposed, then, here to give some account of the position of the question from official documents.

A brief sketch of what appeared to me the great want for the improvement of female education, is contained

in the statement on the subject which I requested permission to lay before his Excellency the Viceroy at Calcutta. As my increased experience has not led me to modify it, I beg leave to present it to the reader in its original state:—

'*Female Education.*

'This was the special object of my visit to India. I was fully aware, before I left England, of the little progress which had been made in the education of the females of this country, and of the difficulties which stand in its way. I was also aware that a great change is taking place in the views of Hindoo gentlemen on this subject, and that a strong desire exists, in the minds of the most enlightened among them, that the future wives and mothers of their nation should be enabled, by sound education, better to fulfil the duties of their important spheres. I came here without any preconceived theories, but desirous of learning the wants of the natives, and of ascertaining how these can be supplied.

'The first place I visited was Ahmedabad, in Guzerat; this place is considerably advanced in the superior position of women, and in appreciation of the importance of female education. Female schools have been established there for above fifteen years, and the results of these are evident in the families of those who attend them. The views I formed, from observation of one of the best of these schools, have been confirmed by subsequent visits to Surat, Bombay, Poona, Madras, and Calcutta, and have been in harmony with those of enlightened native gentlemen, as well as ladies, with whom I have conversed.

'The grand obstacle to the improvement of female schools, and to the extension of them, is the universal want of female teachers. Nowhere,* except in Mission Schools, are any trained female teachers to be found; and even in them, the supply

* It would be more correct to say 'very rarely,' as I afterwards saw one occasionally—an Eurasian or a native convert.

created by the training of teachers in the institutions themselves, is not sufficient to meet the demand. The girls' schools are taught entirely by male teachers! This has been long felt to be a great evil by the inspectors, the intelligent native gentlemen, and the mothers of the children; but there has been no possibility, in the existing state of things, of remedying the evil.

'The results of such a system are evident. Not only are the little girls withdrawn from school earlier than they otherwise would be, but they are entirely without that proper influence on their manners and character which a female teacher alone can give. The training to habits of neatness and order, and instruction in needlework, which are so essential to a woman, in whatever position in life she may be placed, are necessarily neglected; and the bulk of the children, for whom the instruction and entertaining system of infant-training adopted in England would be so valuable, sit listless under lessons which are not adapted to their childish comprehension. I should indeed, from observation of these schools only, have been led to doubt whether Hindoo girls were capable of the same development as English girls; but the very different condition of the girls in all the Mission Boarding Schools, which were under female teachers, fully convinced me that Hindoo girls wanted only proper instruction to make them in every way equal, and in some respects superior, to those of our own country.

'The present condition of female education in India can be improved solely by the introduction of female teachers, and these can be supplied only by the establishment of a Female Normal Training School.

'The Government of India has long adopted this course to supply male teachers to boys' schools. The boys' schools are provided with good and efficient teachers, and are producing excellent results. If the same course is pursued for the girls' schools, there can be no doubt that similar results will follow after the system has had time to work. Isolated efforts have been made, in some parts of Bengal, to supply teachers by the

establishment of Normal Schools; but these only prove the necessity of a more complete system.

'Feeling assured that the Government has hitherto held back from taking this course, not through any apathy respecting female education, but from a desire to be assured that the want is actually felt by enlightened natives, before taking any initiatory steps in the matter, I have, in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, ascertained that enlightened native gentlemen are most anxious for the establishment of such schools, as they have testified to me in writing; in Ahmedabad and Madras steps have been already taken by them in memorialising their respective Governments. In Calcutta I have ascertained that many respectable persons are desirous of the establishment of such schools, and have memorialised Government on the subject—that the want of them is very strongly felt also in many important places in the Mofussil.

'I am well aware that the difficulties to be encountered in establishing a Training School for Female Teachers are much greater than those attending Male Normal Training Schools. The ignorance of Hindoo women of a suitable age is one great impediment, and the difficulty of finding any such, except widows, who would be able and willing to train for teachers, is another. I have fully considered these and many other obstacles; and having done this, and consulted persons of considerable experience in different parts of the country, I am persuaded that they may be surmounted.

'The following are suggestions which I would beg to offer, as to the general features of such a school as I desire to see established. It will, of course, be clearly understood that in these proposed institutions the Government principle of non-interference in religious matters is to be strictly adhered to. While the personal religious liberty of every inmate of the institution is to be respected, no one, while in it, is to attempt any religious proselytism. Different localities will have different requirements, and adaptation to special circumstances. It will, therefore, be better in every case to commence on a small scale, and with as much attention to economy as is consistent with the proper development of the institution :—

'*Suggestions for the Establishment of a Female Normal Training School.*

'1*st*.—A house should be procured, adapted to furnish a comfortable residence for about a dozen Christian students, with a Lady Superintendent. Arrangements should be made for the separate boarding of non-Christian native students when required. Arrangements for necessary furniture, board, and attendance to be made by the Inspector of Schools.

'2*ndly*.—A Lady Superintendent, who should be responsible to Government for the entire management of the institution, should be obtained from England (at a salary, probably, of about 200 rupees a month, in addition to board and lodging); and a superior mistress for training (at about 150 rupees a month, in addition to board and lodging). In each case the passage-money to be paid, under certain conditions.

'3*rdly*.—Persons who wish to become students in training, must apply to the inspector, and must satisfy him that it is their intention to study, and faithfully to prepare to be teachers. They will receive board and instruction while in the institution. All English students must learn the vernacular, and all native students, English.

'4*thly*.—Any girls' schools existing in the neighbourhood may be employed for the training of teachers, and the students may thus be exercising a beneficial influence in the schools now taught by men, before they are prepared to take charge of schools themselves.

'I have not here entered into details, wishing not to trouble you with more than the general plan; I have, however, carefully considered everything, and shall be most happy to enter into further particulars should any be desired.'

I will now take a brief general review of the state of female education, as derived from the Government Reports. Having already spoken with some detail of the Mission Schools, it will be unnecessary again to allude to them, especially as the published reports of

them are before the public; I have already strongly expressed my opinion of the great good they have done to native girls, by developing their powers under female instruction. Nor shall I allude to European orphanages for girls, but confine myself to native girls' schools.

It is evident that the position of female education differs greatly in each of the three Presidencies. The North-Western Provinces would have presented new aspects. I much regretted being unable to visit them, and shall therefore not enter on their educational position. In Lower Bengal, the Government gives gratuitous aid to girls' schools, and also to zenana-teaching in Calcutta. This is under the direction of voluntary societies. About 150 houses are visited by female teachers, who have between 400 or 500 young ladies under instruction. About 200 girls' schools are aided in Bengal, but many of them are very small, not containing twenty scholars; several have not been long established, dating their existence only one or two years back. Mr Martin, the Inspector of the South-eastern Division, gives, in his Report for the preceding year, a table of the girls' schools in his district on April 30, 1865. He says:—

'It will appear that each of the grant-in-aid schools is attended, on an average, by 19 girls, each of the schools otherwise aided by 12 girls, and each of the private schools by 11 girls. The objection to girls' schools is not now anything like what it was three years ago. On April 30, 1863, there were 26 such schools, attended by 496 pupils; on April 30, 1864, the number of schools and of pupils in attendance were, respectively, 44 and 767. On the same day of this year (1865), there were 77 schools, attended by 1,208 girls. When I took charge of this division, in June 1861, there were but 4 girls' schools; I think I am therefore justified in saying that, as far

as the opening of schools with the assistance of the people is concerned, we have been most successful.'

The necessity of obtaining female teachers for these schools struck Mr. Martin so forcibly, that, with the sanction of Government, he established a training-school for mistresses. The small sum allowed did not permit the employment of trained female teachers as instructresses, and the women selected, though known to be modest and virtuous persons, were very ignorant, and were not of a high class. There were 25 in the school at the time of report, 8 of whom were Christians, and 15 Jat Byraginees of good character. The native Deputy Inspector takes a warm interest in their progress, and reports that, at the end of two years, three mistresses were ready to go out, and at once obtained situations: 'demands were made for mistresses from Burrisal, Bogra, and Sylhet, but they will have to wait another year. The problem whether these trained mistresses will be accepted in schools seems, therefore, to be pretty well solved.' The Deputy Inspector thus writes:—

'The school has undergone some material changes during the course of the session just closed. On the 23rd of June last, Government sanctioned a monthly expenditure of 150 rupees for its support. The number of students on its rolls, on the 30th of April last, was 25, against 17 on the same date of the last year. Of these, 5 hold stipends of the highest grade, or of 4 rupees each. There are in the school 8 Christians, 1 Brahmonee, and 15 Jat Byraginees, against whose character nothing is known, and who are all believed to be modest and virtuous women. The age of the oldest woman is 51, and that of the youngest 22, with an average of 35: 16 of them are mothers, which peculiarly qualifies them to take charge of young children; 13 have husbands, 10 are widows, while a

Christian woman, aged about 36, has never been married. The greatest care and the utmost attention is invariably paid to their character. There have been 10 admissions during the year, and 3 dismissals. The names of 2 were struck off for disobedience and negligence, while the name of 1 only has been struck off for supposed misconduct. . . .

'In the middle of the session, the Bangla Bazaar Girls' School was converted into a Model School, where the mistresses are trained in the practical part of the art of teaching, while instructions on the subject are imparted to them from Bhoodeb and Gopal Chundra's "Art of Teaching." I have imparted to them a series of lectures on the subject, drawn up by myself, from the works of the most approved authors in Europe, with such modifications and alterations as experience has suggested, for its adaptability to this part of the country.'

With respect to the origin of this school, Mr. Martin states, in his report for the year ending April 30, 1864, that during the first year of his inspectorship, he was generally informed that the great obstacle in the way of opening girls' schools, was the impossibility of obtaining female teachers. There were, in that district, a number of women called Byraginees, many of whom, descended from Byragees, are persons of virtuous character, and much respected. It is a fact, that they are gladly received as teachers in native families, when trained. Mr. Martin considers the school, therefore, a great success, and so it is, for it shows that something much better may now be safely attempted. The status of the female education of the neighbourhood is very low. It is evidently impossible that women advanced in life (for the average of their ages is 35), can do much, if anything, to effect any change in the intellectual condition of their scholars. Still, it is a most important thing that this first step has been taken, and it is to be hoped that it will lead the way to such an

establishment, as may infuse new life into the position of female education.

Mr. R. R. Mookerjee, an Inspector of Indigenous Schools, thus writes in my Commonplace Book:—

'In the district of Dacca, where I have served as a Deputy Inspector of Schools for nearly five years, there are about 30 girls' schools, 2 adult female schools, and a normal school for training mistresses. The want of educated mistresses was long felt in that quarter, to remove which the training seminary was founded. The circumstance that native girls are married while yet in their infancy, stands greatly in the way to prevent much progress in these institutions; yet it is gratifying to find that that practice is gradually giving way, and that many married girls are nowadays to be seen in our girls' schools. The establishment of adult female schools is another means of removing the difficulty. All these desirable ends, however, require the entertainment of mistresses properly educated, and capable of discharging their delicate and onerous duties. A normal school, such as is established at Dacca, is therefore an important step; but such normal schools themselves stand in need of trained mistresses, such as are not to be had in this country at present. I sincerely sympathise with Miss Mary Carpenter, and have to tender the best thanks of my countrymen and myself, for her philanthropic and charitable views with regard to the improvement of our females, sunken and neglected as they are at present.'

December 11, 1866.

I had the pleasure, also, of receiving the following address from the Dacca Normal School:—

'Madam,—The enlightened part of the native community have beheld your arrival in Calcutta with great joy. They look upon this as an event that will give a new turn to the state of the native society. It is told in our Shastras, that the fair sex forms the better part of humanity; but the want of a

proper education has made the native ladies otherwise. They have now an example before them, by which, I have not the least doubt, they will be much profited. I have a female normal school under my charge: it consists of three classes, and there are 24 students of all ages on the roll. There is also a girls' school attached to this institution, which has nearly 75 girls on the roll, some of whom belong to the highest families. I, on the part of the teachers and students, have the honour most respectfully to request you to honour our schools with a visit. I further beg to send herewith an address in Bengali from the students of this school.

'I have to remain, your most obedient servant,

'MOHESH CHUNDER GUNGOLEE,

Head Master of the Dacca Female Normal School.

Dacca: December 14, 1866.

Having entered into some details respecting the progress of female education in Madras, it is unnecessary to say more, except that its advanced condition has only led to great anxiety for the adoption of suitable measures to obtain well-trained female teachers, as shown in the chapters on Madras.

The history of female education in Bombay indicates a very different state of society from what exists in the other Presidencies, and one which reflects the highest credit on the educated portion of the native population. The establishment of schools for the instruction of girls, originated with the Students' Literary and Scientific Society. The report of this society, dated February 1852, thus speaks:—

'In our last Report, we had the pleasure to chronicle the establishment of 6 girls' schools, which were then attended by 308 children. We have since had the satisfaction to learn, that the Bombay Government regarded the spontaneous institution of these seminaries as an epoch in the history of educa-

tion in this Presidency, from which, it is to be hoped, will, in due time, be traced the commencement of a rapid, marked, and constant progress. These schools were Parsee, Marathi, Hindoo, and Gujarati-Hindoo. Many prejudices had to be overcome before this first step could be taken, and sound knowledge was introduced in the schools. Geography, astronomy, and the higher branches of arithmetic were taught there. Moral teaching was also given. The numbers increased by 237 in the first year.'

The Parsees, however, undertook the work of education independently of this society. In November 1848, a society (already alluded to) was founded, through the munificence of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, called the Parsee Benevolent Institution; a part of the agency of this consisted in the establishment of girls' schools. The Parsee girls' schools were first called into existence through the exertions of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and a few friends, aided by his excellent mother. The schools remained under the management of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society until the year 1856, when, the society's funds becoming low, and the Parsee community, being now fully sensible of the importance of education, the leading Parsees formed themselves into a Girls' School Association, exclusively for the benefit of those who hold the religion of Zoroaster. The parents who can afford it pay a rupee, monthly, to the school funds, for each child; none are, however, debarred from education by being unable to pay, and all are treated alike. There are several scholarships attached to the schools, to stimulate the scholars to excellence, and especially to induce them to undertake to become assistant teachers. These are founded by benevolent Parsee gentlemen and ladies. These four schools contain 483 girls, of whom 233 pay the fee. The girls are taught reading,

writing, arithmetic, geography, Persian history, morality, useful knowledge, needle and berlin-work, and singing. These schools are placed under Government inspection, without receiving Government help. Both they, and those belonging to the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution, are admirably conducted, and are as good as they can be without female teachers. About 1,600 girls are thus receiving a good education in the Hindoo and Parsee Girls' Schools.

The effort to educate girls is not confined to the city of Bombay. We have already seen what admirable girls' schools are carried on by native effort in Ahmedabad and in Surat. Those cities are not isolated in their exertions. The following facts are derived from official returns of schools in the North-eastern Division of the Bombay Presidency, up to January 30, 1866, prepared by Mr. T. B. Curtis, the educational inspector of that district:—

In the Dholka subdivision are	10	schools,	containing	420	girls.
„ Kaira „ „	7	„	„	222	„
„ Surat „ „	17	„	„	921	„
„ Rewa Kanta agency „	2	„	„	11	„
„ Kattiawar subdivision „	11	„	„	332	„
Total in the division	47	schools,	containing	1,906	girls.

The Government Report gives, as under instruction, in this division, 2,301 girls during the year.

These schools are supported as follows:—

By Chiefs	4
Endowed	8
By Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Benevolent Institution . .	8
By Local Educational Funds	13
By Local Funds with Government help	14
Total . . .	47

This table, supplementing the noble efforts of the natives of Bombay to give education to the other sex, needs no comment. It declares, more forcibly than any words can do, that they strongly feel the importance of female education; that they have made, and are still making, personal and pecuniary sacrifices to obtain it; and if they now say, as they have said to the Government, that they cannot do more if they would—that real progress is arrested by the want of proper teachers—that they cannot, by the use of any means at their disposal, obtain such teachers—that the course adopted by Government to supply teachers for themselves, they now ask for the girls' schools, with such changes as different circumstances require:—when they say all this, and lay their actual position before their rulers, will they not be listened to, and their just request find a ready response?

Throughout the Central and Southern Divisions, the Director states, in his report, that education has not made the same advance, and only small and inferior schools are to be found there. But the prejudice against the education of girls appears to have died away. 'The impression,' he says, 'which I have generally received in travelling, has been, that all through the Marathi, Guzerathi, and Canarese countries (for of Sind I am not able to speak), it will be perfectly possible to introduce, *with the full consent of the people*, primary female schools, to be attended by girls up to ten or eleven years of age. For this purpose I applied, some months ago, to Government, for an annual grant of 30,000 rupees, to be expended in various ways, according to the differences of local circumstances, but always with the view of establishing, in every town and large village, a primary female school. As yet, no answer on the

subject has been given by the Supreme Government.' It may be well that there should be a delay in this; for it would surely be best for the Government first to establish normal schools, to prepare proper female teachers for girls' schools, rather than to perpetuate, and thus sanction, so undesirable a system as the instruction of young girls by male teachers.

A distinct and formal request having been made by the natives of Bombay and Madras, to their respective Governments, for the establishment of Female Normal Training Schools, these were in due course forwarded to the Supreme Government for approval, and an answer was anxiously expected.

The following printed communication has been officially forwarded to me; it shows the anxiety of the Governor-General to promote an object so important to the female portion of the native community, as providing them with suitable instructors:—

Government document from E. C. Bayley, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

Simla: July 20, 1867.

Sir,—I am directed to forward herewith, for the consideration of ——— and for such further action as may be thought desirable, a memorandum, recently written by Miss Carpenter, containing her views on the subject of Female Education in India, and her suggestions for the establishment of Female Normal Schools.

2. The primary object in view, it will be seen, is to obtain a larger and more constant supply of female teachers, capable of imparting a higher order of education to native females than has as yet been attempted. The Governor-General in Council is anxious to further this object, but there are many and obvious reasons why it would be inexpedient for the Government to assume the entire responsibility of such a scheme as

is proposed, which would start with a surer prospect of success if it could be based on the efforts of the native community itself, under the guidance and advice, and with the assistance, of each local Government or administration. Such assistance might be shown, among other ways, by recognising and suitably rewarding those who may actively interest themselves in the cause of Female Education; and as regards the establishment of Female Normal Schools, I am authorised to state that, whenever any earnest and genuine effort is made by the local community, the Government of India will be prepared to co-operate, by a liberal interpretation of the Grant-in-aid Rules, and by assistance in procuring teachers from England, and by guaranteeing to them a continuance of their salaries and emoluments for a certain stated period, subject to such reasonable conditions as may be determined upon. The Governor-General in Council does not wish to bind the local Government to any particular scheme, but would wish it to be understood that, whenever any experiment may be tried with this particular object in view, the co-operation of the native community must be insisted upon as an essential condition of Government support.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) J. T. WHEELER,

For Secretary to the Government of India.

The Government of India acts on the principle of non-interference with the religion and the social customs of the natives. So much importance having been formerly attached by them to the absolute seclusion and the non-education of the female sex, it of course required of them, as expressed in the last paragraph, that in the event of the local Government thinking proper to inaugurate any scheme of the kind, 'the co-operation of the native community must be insisted upon as an essential condition of Government support.'

A scheme drawn out by Sir A. Grant, for the establishment of a Normal Training School, was forwarded

from Bombay Castle to the Government of India. In reply, the Government of India sanctions half the outlay for five years, the natives taking the other half.

This condition for the present defers indefinitely, at Bombay, any possibility of a commencement being made of supplying the grand want of India, the means of preparing her daughters to fill the position to which they are destined through the medium of a sound education. That education does not consist merely in the acquisition of a knowledge of reading and writing, but in such a development of their physical and moral nature, as can be given only by trained female teachers. They have already done all in their power to accomplish these. What has been done by enlightened natives to raise the other sex, shows them only what they cannot do. Such superior training they now desire ardently to obtain for them. Until a sufficient number of years have elapsed to enable such of their own ladies as may desire it to train for the purpose of becoming efficient teachers—a period which cannot shortly arrive —this preparation must be made through the medium of English ladies, who will give themselves heart and soul to the great work. It is evident that the educated natives of Bombay, both Parsees and Hindoos, have already taken the initiative, as required by the Supreme Government, in the development of female education. The state of society among them is also very different from what it was some years ago, as regards the seclusion of their ladies. The foregoing narrative has shown how many remarkable proofs of this they have given. More they cannot do; and surely they have fulfilled the condition imposed, of 'native co-operation.' Since the training of female teachers can be effected only by Englishwomen, it is evident that, even if they had unlimited funds at their command, it would be impossible

for them to establish, and then to conduct, such an institution. Besides, it is under the protection of the British Government only, that Englishwomen, not under the guidance of their friends, and unconnected with missionaries, ought to expose themselves to the difficulties and dangers they would have to encounter in a distant and tropical country, under such conditions as may secure their permanency.

Should proper arrangements be made, and the Government sanction the scheme, there can be no doubt that a sufficient number of educated women could be found who would willingly go and enter themselves as students in training, until they had obtained sufficient knowledge of the vernacular to engage as teachers. Many are already anxious to commence the undertaking. There will be no difficulty in enlisting as many educated women as may be required. Effectively to carry out the object intended, the institution must receive the protection and support of Government. But, in the meantime, it is necessary that every arrangement should be previously made before the plan is commenced. Not having fully developed the scheme which I laid before the Viceroy, and knowing what difficulties English ladies would find in India—difficulties which might defeat the plan at its outset, if not properly guarded against—I have detailed it in the following letter, which I requested permission to lay before the Secretary of State for India:—

'*To the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P., Secretary of State for India.*

Bristol: October 8, 1867.

'Sir,—In the letter which I had the honour of addressing, while in India, to his Excellency the Governor-General, on Female Education, I laid before him the actual position of the

question, and gave a general outline of a scheme for the establishment of a Female Normal School.

'I have since closely directed my attention to the subject, in order thoroughly to understand the wishes and wants of the enlightened natives who desire such an institution—the position it would occupy in the country—the possibility of affording to the English or other students engaged in it such domestic comfort and protection as would be essential to them in a foreign country, the habits and manners of which widely differ from our own—and the probability of obtaining an adequate supply of students eventually, to supply the general demand for female teachers.

'In the consideration of these topics, I availed myself, while in India, of opportunities of visiting various institutions, of learning the domestic habits of Europeans in that country, and of obtaining what appeared to me reliable information from enlightened natives in each Presidency, as well as from English gentlemen and ladies well acquainted with the country.

'Since my return to England, I have had various opportunities of learning the views of experienced ladies respecting the probability of finding educated persons in this country suited for the purpose, and of discussing with them the position which will be best for them, in view of their going to India to train as teachers.

'In all I have availed myself of the experience I had previously gained, both in the management of an institution myself, and in the study of other boarding institutions. I now, therefore, feel prepared to enter into the details of a Female Normal School, which I respectfully beg to lay before you. The plan is based on the following positions:—

'1*st*.—Female education is now generally accepted by the enlightened part of the native community as very desirable, and Girls' Schools are already established in various parts of the country, frequently by native gentlemen themselves.

'2*ndly*.—There are no female teachers for these schools, and they are at present taught by male teachers.

'3*rdly*.—Both native gentlemen and ladies are dissatisfied

with this state of things, but cannot remedy it, female teachers not being procurable.

'4*thly*.—It would be, of course, preferred by them to obtain a regular supply of native female teachers, and this should be the ultimate object to be aimed at.

'5*thly*.—But both the educational and the social condition of Hindoo ladies present difficulties, which at present preclude the possibility of their becoming teachers, without long training, and until many existing prejudices are overcome.

'6*thly*.—This training can be given only by European or other Christian teachers who have themselves been trained; and the natives request the help of these, if given on the Government principle of non-interference with religion.

'7*thly*.—Such trained teachers are very rarely to be met with in India, and it is necessary to bring them in the commencement from England.

'8*thly*.—These teachers will all require special training for their future work, by the acquisition of the vernacular, and the study of the wants and habits of the children in the native schools.

'9*thly*.—The position of a teacher is not at present deemed in general honourable, or one to be desired by native ladies: it will, therefore, be very important to the success of the work that the teachers and students should be carefully selected; that their position in the Normal School should be good, and that a guarantee should be given by Government for suitable salaries to accredited female teachers in native schools.

'10*thly*.—Special provision should be made for the instruction of native students, besides that training in the art of teaching which they may receive in common with the English students, so as to supply the want of previous education equal to that received in our country by pupil-teachers.

'Accepting these positions as the basis of the Normal School contemplated, it is obvious that the special object of the institution at its commencement will be the preparation of the future teachers of native schools; it will be desirable, therefore, to obtain, if possible, a number of educated persons who

have already mastered the ordinary branches of education, but who require to learn the art of teaching, and to acquire the vernacular. Young native ladies who may eventually become teachers, must first obtain the preparatory education, either in the schools now existing, or by special classes formed for them. They should also be learning English, while the English students are studying the vernacular.

'The institution should be arranged as follows:—

'The *House* provided must contain not only suitable class-rooms, but comfortable accommodation for the Lady Superintendent, Training Mistress, and students (any non-Christian native students, who may require to board in the institution, must have separate arrangements made for them); servants, conveyance, and whatever else is needed for a respectable household, to be provided also.

'The *Lady Superintendent* will have the general management of the institution, provide the board, and in every way be the head of the household. She will make all arrangements necessary for developing the objects of the institution; confer with the managers of schools desirous of obtaining the assistance of the mistress and students; conduct all correspondence; and in all respects be responsible for the due carrying out of the intentions of Government, to which only she will be responsible.

'The *Training Mistress*, who is to be an English certificated teacher, will have the entire responsibility of training the students. She will spend a portion of each day with them in the schools; give them such separate instruction as may be needed; and with them receive daily lessons of a master in the vernacular, to the acquisition of which she shall give careful attention. While teaching in any school, she shall in no respect interfere with the regulations or wishes of the managers.

'The *Servants* are to be selected by the Lady Superintendent, and to be under her direction. She should have, if possible, one good English servant, and may employ, under her direction, young women brought up in the English schools of

the country, or others. It will be desirable to exclude men-servants from the household.

'Persons desirous of entering the Normal School as *students*, must satisfy the Lady Superintendent that their character and general qualifications are such as to render them suitable for teachers, and also undergo an examination fixed by the Government. They must conform in all respects to the regulations while in the institution, and must receive a certificate of qualification from the Lady Superintendent, signed by the Inspector, before leaving the school to take an engagement as a teacher.

'The annual expense of such an institution cannot be at present estimated. The following is the nearest approximation I can offer, exclusive of the rent and furnishing :—

Salary of Lady Superintendent . . .	200	rupees per mensem.
,, Training Mistress	100	,,
Board of two Ladies	60	,,
Board of twelve Students	240	,,
Daily lessons from two Masters . .	100	,,
Wages and board of Servants . . .	150	,,
Conveyance	100	,,
Miscellaneous household expenses . .	50	,,
	1,000	rupees per mensem.

'Exclusive of rent, the institution would cost, on this estimate, 12,000 rupees per annum, or 1,200*l.* sterling.

'The passage out of the Superintendent and Training Mistress would be paid by Government. At the commencement of the institution, it might be advisable to send out also some students, whose education and position would enable them to become teachers without long training. A guarantee must be given for the return of the passage-money, or other expenses, if the work is abandoned by them within a given time.

'This, Sir, is a general sketch of the institution I propose. It is evident that experience only can show what modifications

it may be necessary, but I believe that the principles on which it is based will be found correct.

'Hoping for your kind consideration of these remarks,

'I remain, Sir, respectfully yours,

'MARY CARPENTER.'

It is evident that a scheme such as this can in no way possibly interfere with any of the prejudices or social customs of the natives, since none need avail themselves of its advantages but those who desire it. No native ladies would be required to train as boarders in the school. Even if, for some years, none should desire to enter it as students, the time would not be lost, as Englishwomen could be training themselves for engagement in the female schools. These once established as teachers in schools, would be able to train native young ladies, who may desire it, as pupil-teachers in English schools. The introduction of English ladies direct from our country is much desired in Bombay, where there are numerous flourishing schools, in which their services would be gladly secured. In other parts of the country, it might be deemed preferable to secure the services of those who are on the spot. Many women are to be found in India, whose respectable character and previous education would fit them for the office, and who would gladly avail themselves of such an opening; the numerous schools for European orphans, and the daughters of officials, would surely furnish many well-educated young women, if their attention were directed to the work. Among the Eurasians on the eastern side of the Empire, are numbers to whom it would be the greatest boon to have a means of livelihood afforded to them. There will be much to be done in preparation of these for teachers, in the acquirement of the vernacular, as well as in actual training, before

they would be prepared to enter on their duties, and there will be ample time to gain experience of the views and wants of the natives. Any number of female teachers would readily find employment, if properly qualified, especially if the Government should itself establish primary girls' schools, as proposed by Sir A. Grant. It has been supposed by some, that the natives would not employ such teachers in their schools. The students trained in the Church of England Normal School at Calcutta have no difficulty in obtaining employment, and are gladly received as teachers in the zenanas of Hindoo gentlemen in that city; the Byraginees of the Dacca Normal School are sought after for engagement in the schools, though they are not of a class who would be preferred, and cannot have acquired, in two or three years, such education and training as would make them superior instructresses. Gladly, then, would they employ European or Eurasian mistresses trained on the Government system, to whom they would not have any of the objections which might attach in their minds to these other students. There can, therefore, be no doubt that if these Normal Training Schools were established by Government, the native community would co-operate in what they so greatly desire, and have so earnestly asked for. That no doubt may exist in the mind of the Government on this subject, the native inhabitants of Bombay, now resident in London, have sent a strong memorial on the subject to the Secretary of State for India. It is supplemented by some remarkable statistics.*

There is, however, a certainty that native students, in some parts of India, would at once apply for admission to a Normal Training School so established by the

* *Vide* Appendix D.

Government. Several of the Brahmica ladies of Calcutta are most desirous of such an opening for improvement, and Brahmo gentlemen of respectable position have repeatedly assured me, that they knew of many who would at once apply. They are now greatly disappointed at the delay of their wishes. In Madras, gentlemen of distinction assured me, that such an opportunity of training to obtain a livelihood, would be gladly accepted by widows of excellent character. In Bombay, for some time, young Parsee ladies have been encouraged to qualify themselves as assistants in the schools, and many are anxiously desiring the establishment of the Normal School. The actual success of the plan can be ascertained only by making the experiment, and that it should be made is earnestly desired by the Parsees and Hindoos of Bombay, for without it all further progress is impossible. They can appeal to more than fifteen years of zealous work and pecuniary sacrifice, as a proof of their sincerity, and the earnestness of their co-operation in the object they have so much at heart. They would do more if they could; but the great commercial crisis has deprived them of the means of doing so, and after the many pecuniary sacrifices they have already made in the cause of female education, they may reasonably ask why they should be called on to sustain, in addition, half the burden of the work of training teachers for girls' schools. For the male sex, the Government has always taken the whole work of training teachers in its own hands. The work succeeded. The schools have been supplied with trained teachers of their own nation. The natives perceive the value of the system, and wish it extended to the other sex. "'Why,' they may still ask, 'does the Government do less for girls than for boys? They will be the

mothers of the next generation, and it is to their influence on society that we look as an important means of elevating our nation. Is the Government indifferent to this? Does it begrudge the expenditure of money on what would be of such vital importance to us?'

The time is come when the Hindoos feel confidence in the sincerity of our Government in its efforts to raise them, intellectually and morally, without interference with their religious or social customs; they invite the aid of Englishwomen to do the work, so essentially their own, of raising their Eastern sisters. Our countrywomen are ready to respond to the call. May the Government enable us to do so!

CHAPTER VI.

REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

THERE are no Reformatory Schools in India to which juvenile criminals can be sent by judges and magistrates, under a legal sentence of detention after imprisonment;—there are no Certified Industrial Schools, to which young vagrants, and others in a state of proclivity to crime, can be committed for a term of years, without imprisonment, to enable them to learn to gain an honest livelihood.

Nor, under existing circumstances, can voluntary effort be invoked to endeavour to save young Hindoo boys from a life of crime, as multitudes of English boys and girls have been rescued; for it has been proved that not only for the permanency, but also for the efficiency, of such institutions, is pecuniary aid from Government, but legal detention also, absolutely necessary. In India there is no Reformatory Schools' Act for juvenile offenders; there is no Certified Industrial Schools' Act for young vagrants; nor any equivalent to these English Acts in legislative action.

That such schools are greatly needed in India, was forced on my unwilling notice during the first few days of my residence in that country.

It will be remembered that almost my first close contact with Hindoo life was in the Court of Justice at Ahmedabad, where I saw before me one of those very

gangs of wandering depredators, of whom I afterwards heard so much, as infesting many parts of the country. I saw among them old men experienced in crime, and young boys whose training had excited in them their unnatural precocity. I afterwards saw all these pent up together in Ahmedabad Jail, where they were detained, uncondemned, without work or anything to occupy their minds, except the recollection of their exploits and their projects for the future. There they had been for several months. I was informed by the superintendent of that jail, Dr. Wyllie, that boys were not unfrequently under his charge in a similar condition; and that one such imprisonment almost inevitably condemned a boy to a life of crime, association of the worst kind with adult criminals being unavoidable under the existing condition of jails. This being the well-known effect of imprisonment on boys, a law has been passed authorising whipping for young offenders to save them from it, and to this reference was frequently made to me as a supposed panacea for juvenile crime. Inquiries from experienced officials and magistrates elicited, however, the conviction, that whipping no more deters or reforms Hindoo boys than long ago it was proved to do English ones; on the contrary, credible witnesses assured me that they had seen boys writhing and crying in apparent agony under the infliction, and very shortly expose themselves to it again. Similar testimonies were borne to me elsewhere in the Bombay Presidency and in Madras, a strong desire being expressed everywhere for the establishment of reformatories.

Under these circumstances, I felt fully authorised in respectfully laying the following statement before his Excellency the Viceroy:—

'*Reformatory Schools and Certified Industrial Schools.*

'Schools of these two kinds have now been established for many years in England, and the success with which they are attended is generally acknowledged.

'They are founded on the principle that jails are not adapted to youthful criminals, who ought rather to receive moral and industrial training.

'There appears a very great need of the establishment of similar schools in India—Reformatory Schools for older and hardened offenders who have been in prison; Industrial Schools for younger children, and juvenile vagrants who are likely to fall into crime.

'Many of both these classes may be found in the prisons of India, or are wandering over the country. They are certain to perpetuate a criminal class, unless timely steps are taken to reclaim them. Many of these boys have been several times in prison, and are already desperate characters, contaminating all who come within their sphere.

'The Reformatories and Industrial Schools in England are established by private benevolence, and are supported by payments made by the Treasury to the managers, towards the maintenance of each offender, payments from county rates by special agreement, and voluntary contributions. A consolidated Act for each class of schools was passed last session.

'It is probable that India would require a somewhat different system, for local reasons, and that here the initiative must be taken by the Government. At the same time it is probable, that if encouragement is now given by the Government, by the passing of a law authorising and partly providing for such schools, municipalities may be able to take their share of the needful expenditure and management. A general feeling appears to prevail, among both European and native gentlemen who are in any way connected with the criminal classes, as to the importance of such establishments in India. They need not, for many reasons, be as costly in India as in England, and

it is probable that the labour of the boys may be made nearly to cover the expense of their maintenance.

'I would therefore respectfully but strongly urge on the Legislature the importance of taking steps as soon as possible to establish such schools.

'Will you permit me to forward herewith my "Suggestions on the Management of Reformatories and Certified Industrial Schools," which contain an account of the system generally adopted in England?'

Subsequent experience, during my residence in India, fully confirmed my first impressions; and the statements of experienced gentlemen, as well as my own personal observations, fully showed that such establishments might be conducted in India at far less expense than in England, since the cost of the clothing of the inmates would be very small, and the boys might easily earn, by agricultural labour, a large proportion of the cost of their food. In Bombay I had an opportunity of inspecting closely the valuable institution which bears the name of its founder, the late Mr. David Sassoon; I learnt that, though it has not had the advantage of legal detention of the inmates (apprenticing the young offenders to learn a trade at the school being the substitute employed), and though the manager had not had the benefit of European experience, which might have led to the adoption of some improvements, yet that the institution is considered a decided success—that it receives some assistance from the Educational Department of the Government, and that magistrates avail themselves of it in the disposal of juvenile offenders. The David Sassoon Reformatory has been in operation for more than a dozen years, and has therefore established three important facts: first, that juvenile criminals exist in India; secondly, that they are susceptible

of reformation, and can be taught to earn an honest livelihood; and thirdly, that the principle is considered a sound one in Bombay, and is acted on by magistrates. An account of this institution will appear in a subsequent part of this chapter.

The subject of reformatories not having yet, however, generally engaged public attention in India, as it has in England, the nature and working of such institutions, as they exist in England, France, and Germany, does not appear to be understood there. Hence, in reply to the suggestions of some of the local Governments, as well as myself, of the importance of establishing reformatories, a circular was issued from the Governor-General in Council (dated July 16, 1867), stating that conclusive objections exist against the institution of 'Central Juvenile Reformatories in India,' and 'that it would be difficult to collect boys who would fill a central jail in any province.' Then it is stated, 'The cost of constructing a new set of expensive buildings, which would be required, and the entertainment of guards, &c., would be very considerable, while, on the score of health, it would be objectionable to remove boys to central jails at a distance from their homes.'

It is evident that this objection is based on the supposition that central juvenile jails are intended by those who advocate reformatories. This is a misapprehension of the term, as it is generally received in England; indeed, every reformatory manager would probably object as strongly as is here set forth, and even more so, not only on financial but on moral grounds, to establishing juvenile jails, especially large central ones. They would not ask to have large expensive buildings, still less the protection of guards. Nor would it be necessary to remove boys to a great distance from their

homes, since it has always been considered better to have a number of small reformatories in different parts of the country than one large central one. The juvenile jail at Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight, was originally intended by the Government to carry out the reformatory principle; it gradually became essentially, as well as in name, a jail, in which were confined 600 young men. Since then, reformatories, under voluntary management, containing generally from thirty to sixty youths, have been established in various parts of the country. Parkhurst Juvenile Prison has been abandoned by the Government, and the buildings turned to another purpose.

Besides the objection, in which all reformatory managers would fully sympathise, to the erection in India of central juvenile jails, a belief is expressed, in the same minute of Government, that reformatories are always liable to gross abuses in that country, from the compelled absence of that moral and religious teaching to which reformatories in England owe their success, but which would assume a proselytising form here.

It is indeed quite true that Christian instruction could not be introduced into reformatories, as they would, of course, be established on the general system adopted of non-interference with religion. Proselytising would be a most improper use of such an institution; this is carefully guarded against in our own country, and it would be directly opposed to the principles on which the Indian Government invariably acts. None ought to be attempted, under any circumstances.

But the fact of the absence of instruction in the Christian religion, by no means implies the absence also of moral and religious teaching. The sacred books of the Hindoos inculcate principles of morality, nor have the

natives any objection to the moral precepts of Christianity, while they do not accept its doctrines. It has already been shown that educated natives generally accept pure theism, and many are very religious men, though they have not embraced the Christian religion. We know well how high a position is held, morally and religiously, by our Jewish fellow-subjects. Native teachers trained in the male Normal Schools discharge their duties admirably under the direction of Government Inspectors, and are at present engaged in the instruction of tens of thousands of young Hindoos, from the better portion of society. They would surely be well fitted to instruct, in the simple principles of morals and religion, young criminals in reformatories, especially if at the head of the establishment were an Englishman who understood the nature of such institutions.

Perceiving that I had not sufficiently explained the nature of such institutions in the suggestions which I had laid before the Indian Government, I addressed the following brief letter to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India :—

'I beg permission also to add a few words respecting Reformatory Schools.

'The founders of these institutions in England have, from the commencement of the movement, always strongly objected to large juvenile jails, advocating rather schools of from about 30 to 60 boys, who might live in a simple domestic way, under the care of proper persons: these, while giving them moral and religious, as well as intellectual-training, should also teach them to work for their living. Good personal influence supersedes the necessity of prison-guards. A number of small schools in different parts of the country have been practically found to succeed much better than one large establishment.

'To schools such as these I referred, when suggesting reformatories for the Hindoo boys, who are now associated in jails with adult prisoners, or who, after chastisement, rove the country in a vagrant and predatory manner.

'From information I obtained in different parts of the country, it appeared that such schools, established in various districts where most needed, might be carried on at no great cost. A piece of land granted for the purpose by the Government, might, by the well-directed labour of the boys, be made to produce nearly enough for their food; their clothing would not be half the expense which it is in England; and from what I have seen of native teachers, many of whom are highly intelligent and well-disposed persons, I do not doubt that some could be found capable of taking the management of these schools, under the direction of the Educational Board, or other gentlemen employed by the Government. Most educated natives are believers in One True God, and would be capable of giving moral and even religious instruction to the boys.

'I visited, while in Bombay, the Reformatory School established many years ago by David Sassoon. It was commenced before the agricultural system was adopted in our reformatories, and is confined to in-door trades: it is not, therefore, in this and some other respects, to be taken as a model. It is, however, considered in the city a great success; as there is no legal detention, magistrates apprentice young delinquents to the school to learn trades. It receives aid from the Educational Department of Government.

'Hoping for your kind consideration of these remarks,

'I remain, Sir, respectfully yours,

'MARY CARPENTER.'

The following account of instruction actually given in a jail by a native teacher, is contained in the General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for 1864–5*; it shows the possibility of giving instruction in a reformatory:—'

* Mr. Martin's Report, pp. 185–187.

'*The Dacca Jail School.*—This school was opened in the month of August last. It has up to this time been taught by a circle pundit. As the only hour which the magistrates could allow convicts for school was at night, the expense of lighting (which has amounted to about five rupees a month) has been defrayed from the Circle School Fund. Respecting the success of the school, I sent the following letter to your address on the 27th March last:—"I have the honour to report, for your information, that in the commencement of this official year a school was opened in the jail at Dacca, with the permission of the magistrate. A circle pundit, whose *patshallas* were in the neighbourhood, was directed to go there every evening, and teach from six till eight o'clock, the expense of lighting (about five rupees a month) being defrayed out of the Circle School Fund. At first it was feared that the prisoners would not like to learn, and that, even if they did so, they might treat their teacher with indignity. Experience has shown, however, that about one hundred (or one-fourth of the prisoners in the jail) have voluntarily come forward to learn, and nowhere is there a school where the pupils treat the teacher with so much respect. I visited the school on Saturday evening last, and found those under instruction in all stages of education, from those writing on palm-leaves to those reading *charupat.* Very few of them had ever learned to read before joining the school; but they themselves stated that, whilst they were in jail, they had no occupation which could benefit them, whereas if they learnt to read and write now, it might be of use to them when the term of their imprisonment was over. From what I saw myself, I am inclined to think that a school might be established in every jail with advantage. At present, however, I would recommend that two teachers be appointed for the Dacca Jail. Ten rupees will be sufficient for each; for, as the hours when the prisoners can be spared from labour is in the evening only, it will be possible to get, for ten rupees a month, men who have other occupations during the day. The whole expenditure which I advocate is, two teachers, on ten rupees each per mensem, and five rupees a month for lighting." In reply you wrote to me as follows:—"By the rules for the regulation of jails the

school instruction of convicts is permitted, but it is distinctly declared that such instruction is to be considered a matter of jail discipline. The Director is, therefore, of opinion, that any expense occasioned by the instruction of prisoners should be borne by the jail funds, and not by the funds of the Education Department. This should be represented to the magistrate, and through him to the Inspector-General of Jails, whose advice and co-operation should be solicited." I immediately wrote to the magistrate on the subject, but have not as yet received any reply.'

While at Calcutta, I had the pleasure of conversing with a native teacher who had given instruction in a jail school—probably in this. He evinced the deepest interest in his work, though, as I understood, it was purely voluntary, and expressed great regret that he was compelled to discontinue it, as the jail regulations prevented any but prisoners themselves from giving instruction to other prisoners. He expressed considerable surprise at such a system, remarking: 'Education does not consist merely in teaching to read and write; its most important part is to elevate the mind and moral nature. To set thieves to teach thieves would defeat this great object.' I need not say that I fully concurred in his views.

I was informed, also, that a number of the prisoners in Alipore Jail availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them of instruction. It would appear, then, that with due caution, instruction might be safely given in Hindoo reformatories by native teachers.

This is not the place to enter into the principles of Reformatories, or to answer objections made by persons who have not studied their object or their working, and who are not aware of their actual results. In England, the subject has been long before the public.

The Blue Books of the House of Commons contain the evidence which was brought before the Select Committee which sat in 1852 and 1853, on criminal and destitute juveniles. Before that Committee I was permitted to give detailed evidence on this subject. The proceedings of two important conferences in Birmingham, in 1851 and 1853, enlightened the public mind. Books were written by experienced persons; all prepared the way for the passing of the first short Act, in August 1854, giving the permission (which had been so long desired) for young delinquents to be trained and educated rather than punished in jail, and granting the authority and pecuniary help required. The first reformatories were experimental, but experiment has resulted in demonstration. Parliament has shown, by successive acts of legislation, its acceptance of the principles, and its satisfaction with the results. The summer of 1866 gave us a complete Reformatory Act, a consolidation of the previous ones, and also one for Certified Industrial Schools, embodying all that past experience had proved to be necessary. All difficulties have been surmounted, all theoretical objections have been answered by facts. The public, at first sceptical, has fully accepted our work, and each county now does something towards supporting a reformatory through the medium of a rate.

To say that reformatories may be good for Europe and America, where they have been long established, but are not adapted to India, would be to deny that human nature is the same in all parts of the world, and that principles remain unchanged in every zone. We used, indeed, to be told that Mettray Reformatory might do very well for French boys, but would not suit English boys; we did not copy that admirable institution

servilely, but studied its principles, and adapted them to English habits and character. So in India, without attempting to introduce every plan which is good in England, we may adapt the reformatory principles to the inhabitants of that country. Assuming that this is understood and accepted, and hoping that those who have not studied the subject will make themselves acquainted with it, before they oppose it, or theorise against it, we will now give some account of the experiment made in the David Sassoon Reformatory of Bombay, derived from official sources.

The report for the years between 1862 and 1867 gives the following account of the origin of the institution:—

'The Bombay School of Industry, established in the year 1850, chiefly through the exertions of the late Dr. Buist, had for its object the reformation of the many juvenile delinquents arrested by the police; the encouragement of apprenticeship amongst the working-classes; and the introduction of better implements than are common in India.

'For several years the maintenance of the institution was provided for chiefly by public subscriptions.

'Much difficulty, however, had been experienced in raising funds for the support of the school, which difficulty, added to the want of a suitable building, had greatly impeded the success of its operations.

'In 1857, the sons of the late Mr. David Sassoon came forward with the following very liberal offer of their assistance, conditionally on the grant of certain concessions by Government:—

'They offered—

First.—To convey to Government, for the purposes of the school, a house and premises situated near Grant Road, in every way suitable for the institution, making

any repairs and alterations thereto that might be necessary.

Secondly.—To make over to Government a sum of Rs. 30,000, on which the highest Government rate of interest was to be allowed, and appropriated towards the support of the school.

'The conditions on which the Messrs. Sassoon made the above offer were—

First.—That Government either grant the services of an engineer permanently to the school, or pay the salary of such engineer;

Secondly.—That Government contribute towards the school an annual amount equal to the interest allowed on their deposit of Rs. 30,000;

Thirdly.—That the school be inspected by Government;

Fourthly.—That Government permit the school to be called after Mr. David Sassoon; and

Fifthly.—That the workshops of the school be closed on Saturdays.

'The munificent offer of the Messrs. Sassoon was accepted on the conditions specified, and with the further stipulation, that the money to be granted from the public revenues should be drawn only when actually required for the current expenditure of the school.

'The School of Industry was thus reorganised as a Government institution, and designated the DAVID SASSOON INDUSTRIAL AND REFORMATORY INSTITUTION.

'The following is a list of the office-bearers on 1st April, 1867:—

President.—A. D. SASSOON, Esq., C.S.I.

Vice-President.—The Honourable B. H. ELLIS.

Managing Committee.

R. B. BARTON, Esq., *Chairman.*
F. SOUTER, Esq., Commissioner of Police.
Major T. WADDINGTON, Educational Inspector, C. D.
E. D. SASSOON, Esq.
A. M. GUBBAY, Esq.
VENAYEKROW WASSOODEWJEE, Esq.
NARAYEN DINANATHJEE, Esq.
E. PRATT, Esq., *Secretary.*'

We learn from the Reports that many juvenile delinquents were known to exist in Bombay, and that since the year 1850 efforts had been made to reclaim them. It must be remembered that no law existed giving to such institutions the power of legal detention, and that apprenticeship was the only means of detaining them. It is also to be borne in mind that, under the circumstances, there could not be the domestic comforts which render many of our reformatories a home, as well as a school for the young persons committed to them. The following report (for 1859–60) must, therefore, be considered very satisfactory :—

'The number of boys under instruction at the close of the last official year was 43. The admissions of new boys during the year under review numbered 34. During the same period, 12 boys were withdrawn or discharged, 1 died in hospital, and 8 absconded; so that the number of boys at present in the institution is 55. The deserters are, generally, boys who have just joined the institution. Those who have been in it for a few weeks readily recognise the advantages which a continued residence on the premises is likely to confer on them, and consequently prefer to remain. The number of desertions during the past year includes one of our most advanced apprentices, an excellent workman, whose desertion is a serious loss to the institution. It is to be hoped, however, that he will soon be

recaptured, as he has been traced to Poona by the police. It is deserving of notice that, in many cases, our own apprentices are mainly instrumental in effecting the recapture of deserters. This was particularly remarkable in the case of a deserter, who was, during the past year, brought back to the institution by means of information and assistance afforded by one of our boys, who had been three years previously his accomplice in crime, and was consequently well acquainted with his haunts.

'For the maintenance of four of the boys, allowances varying from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 rupees each, per mensem, are paid by their parents and guardians. For six others, criminal boys sent to us from the Mofussil, Government grant an allowance of 3 rupees each per mensum. The remainder are destitute or criminal boys, apprenticed chiefly by magistrates in Bombay, and are fed, clothed, and taught wholly at the expense of the institution.

'An accession of boys from the Mofussil would be a great advantage to the institution, looking to the allowance which the Government grant for the maintenance of such boys. The six Mofussil boys, above alluded to, have been received since the publication of our last Annual Report—a fact which, it is hoped, may be regarded as evidence of a recognition, to some extent, of the utility of the suggestions offered in that report. As the Legal Remembrancer has stated that boys convicted in the Mofussil may be legally apprenticed to us by any magistrate in Bombay, those magistrates in the Mofussil who may be desirous of placing boys at this institution need only trouble themselves about arranging for the transport of the boys to Bombay. The execution of the necessary contract of apprenticeship is usually arranged by the managers of the institution, by whom also application is made to Government for the maintenance of the apprentice during his residence at the institution.'

The 55 boys in the school in the year 1859 were of various castes and religions; 27 being Hindoos of fifteen

different castes, 25 Mahometans, and three Christians. In no report does it appear that any difficulty arose from these. The boys were taught a variety of trades; and gradually improved so much, both in habits of application and in skill, that orders were obtained for work, in aid of the funds of the institution. In doing this, they were encouraged by the Government. The Commissary-General of the Army arranged to obtain certain descriptions of clothing from the school, and the Government recommended Heads of Departments to send such job-work to the school as could be executed on reasonable terms. Advertisements were also inserted free of charge in the official 'Gazette.'

The anxiety of the Committee to improve the boys placed under their charge is shown by the following extracts:—

'At the date of the last report, the Committee had under consideration the expediency of permitting the more advanced young artisans to visit occasionally public establishments in Bombay, where the arts, to which they are apprenticed, are exercised on an extensive scale. To give effect to the object in view, the following arrangements have been adopted during the period under review:—Saturday in each week, when our workshops are closed, is the day set apart for visiting other workshops. The only workshops to which our boys are as yet permitted access, are those at Byculla, under the Locomotive Superintendent of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, whither the boys have been conducted every week. These visits, which are made by the boys under adequate guidance and supervision, must necessarily extend their practical knowledge, and are attended also with an important collateral advantage. The regular attendance of our carpenters, turners, smiths, and brass-moulders, at the Byculla Workshops, has the effect of making known their qualifications, and thus facilitates our obtaining employment for them at the end

of their terms of apprenticeship. This is proved by the short experience already acquired.

'The attention of the Committee has been lately turned to the desirableness of some systematic effort for improving the tastes of the boys. Dr. Birdwood has most kindly offered, with the sanction of the President of the Horticultural Society, to attach to the Industrial Institution, as a temporary measure, some of the *mallees* (gardeners) in the service of the Horticultural Society, for the purpose of ornamenting our grounds. It is proposed to take advantage of this liberal offer, as soon as the whole compound shall be raised to a higher level, which is one of the works at present lying over for want of funds. It is intended also to erect a large aviary on the premises. This is at present under construction. A small collection of birds for the aviary has been already made, and further occasional contributions from the public will be very acceptable.'

Mr. Pratt, the secretary, is able to give the following testimony to the conduct of the boys during the year ending June 1860:—

'Looking to the previous characters of the boys received into this institution, the conduct of the great bulk of them may be described as remarkably good. Of those who have been long resident at the institution, and are near the close of their terms of apprenticeship, the conduct of the generality may be said to be even exemplary.

'During the year under review, four thefts were committed on the premises by some of the boys.

'Experience has established, that judicious management and prompt inquiry seldom fail to lead to the discovery of the guilty parties on the occurrence of any misconduct.'

The reformatory appears to have become increasingly valued, for, at a special meeting held on the premises on February 20, 1861, it appeared that the number of boys had increased to 85; but it was found that this involved an expenditure which exceeded, by more than

100 rupees (10*l.*) per mensem, the income of the institution. It was therefore resolved:—

Resolved.—'That the existing state of the finances will not admit of the maintenance, entirely at the expense of the institution, of a larger number than 40 boys; that, for the present, that number be regarded as the maximum number to be admitted free of charge; and that the secretary be requested to place himself in communication with the magistrates of police, for the purpose of obtaining suitable provision for the maintenance of the boys recently admitted into the institution, in excess of the above number, or of arranging for the cancelment of their contracts of apprenticeship.'

In consequence of this resolution, eleven boys were sent back to the Commissioner of Police, whom he had sent on magisterial order to the institution, but who had not yet been apprenticed. Considerable difficulty arose respecting the disposal of the boys, Act XIX. of 1850 permitting magistrates to send boys to the institution, to be apprenticed, instead of being punished, but not making any provision for the maintenance of the boys, or for obtaining the consent of the managers to receive them. An official correspondence on this subject sufficiently proved the necessity of a legal provision for such cases, as in our Industrial Schools' Act. Eventually the Chief Secretary to the Government communicated the decision of the Honourable the Governor in Council, that he considered the proposal of the Sassoon Committee to be a reasonable one, and that henceforth 'All lads sent to the reformatory by police magistrates should be clothed and fed at the expense of Government, as would be the case if they were sent to jail.'

The Government, being evidently desirous of extending the usefulness of such institutions, introduced a

section into Act XXI. of 1861. The substance of it is as follows:—

'Sentences of imprisonment passed on such offenders may, under that enactment, be carried out in any reformatory which fulfils certain specified conditions, these conditions being—

1. That the reformatory afford means of suitable discipline, and of training in some branch of useful industry.
2. That it be kept by some person willing to obey Government orders.
3. That it be recognised by Government as a fit place of confinement.'

Now, it is well known to managers of reformatories, that a short period of time spent in their institutions would be of little value, the object being to influence the character, and to enable young persons to earn an honest livelihood. The reformatory is not to be regarded as a private jail, where a term of imprisonment may be passed—still less as a place where penal inflictions may be carried into execution. The Managing Committee of the David Sassoon Reformatory came to the conclusion, soon after the passing of that Act, that no steps should be taken to obtain a recognition of it by the Government as a fit place of confinement for the purposes of the new law, considering it more conducive to the object for which the school was established, that the inmates should be apprenticed under indentures for a term of years, than that they should be prisoners under sentence of a few weeks' or a few months' confinement. Their reasons are given in the following passages in the Report for 1864 to 1867:—

'Of the cases connected with young delinquents which come before the magistrates, there are but few which call for sentences of imprisonment beyond a few weeks or months.

And of course no magistrate, who, acting under Section 433 of the Act of 1861, has inflicted a suitable sentence of imprisonment on a boy convicted before him of some petty offence, can direct that the lad shall be confined in a reformatory beyond the term of the sentence, in order to admit of his being trained to some branch of useful industry: Yet, unless a vicious boy has the advantage of subjection, for at least three or four years, to the discipline, to the industrial training, and to the generally wholesome influences of a reformatory, how can it be hoped that he will ever learn to work for a livelihood in any branch of useful industry, or that he will ever be reclaimed?'

The immediate consequence of the new Act was, that very few boys were apprenticed to the institution during the next three or four years by the magistrates, probably owing to a belief, on their part, that the new Act superseded the former one, under which boys were apprenticed. During the year 1866, however, 37 boys were sentenced to the school by the Senior Magistrate and his colleagues.

The boys are frequently employed to do work beyond the institution. A number of boys who were too young for apprenticeship were sent for some years to work at a cotton-factory. At times, experienced hands are hired out to do carpentry. Efforts are made by the managers to obtain work for competent inmates. On Sir Bartle Frere's late visit to the institution, when it was represented to him that, in consequence of the large reduction in establishments which were continually taking place, difficulty was experienced in obtaining employment for discharged apprentices, his Excellency desired Major Kendall to take into consideration (says Mr. Pratt, the secretary, in the same report):—

'The practicability of arranging for the admission to the Dockyard, Barrack Department, and other Government Estab-

lishments, of qualified artisans from the institution. At his Excellency's suggestion, an advertisement has been inserted in the "Government Gazette," inviting Heads of Departments to apply to the institution for the services of qualified artisans. It is particularly desirable to find employment for discharged apprentices in the Mofussil, where they would be less exposed to temptation than in Bombay, and would be completely weaned from their old haunts and associates. A circular from Government to Executive Engineers in the Mofussil, recommending that application be made to us when artisans are required, would I think be useful to the institution. Dr. McKenzie, the Superintendent of the Dharwar Jail, in a letter which I received from him several months ago, expressed his willingness to entertain one or two of our advanced apprentices for the purpose of teaching prisoners in jail. I have been unable, however, to avail myself of this offer, for I fear that to place our apprentices, immediately on their discharge, in close contact with the inmates of a criminal jail, would be to entirely undo the work of the reformatory. Nevertheless, Dr. McKenzie is entitled to our best acknowledgments for the interest evinced by him in this institution, and for his offer to aid it as far as lay in his power.'

There is great difficulty in tracing out the inmates after their discharge from the reformatory; and the managers are desirous of introducing a system of 'patronage,' such as is carried out with so much advantage in some European reformatories. Of the importance of such a plan, and of the kind interest taken in the boys by the managers, Mr. Pratt adduces the following instance:—

'The police sent to the reformatory last year a lad named Girdhur, whose father was known to the Honourable Mr. Mungaldass Nuthoobhoy and to Mr. Lukmidass Khimjee. These gentlemen, from the interest they occasionally evinced in Girdhur, came at length to be virtually recognised as the boy's patrons. The effect of "patronage," even in this isolated case, has been remarkably useful to the institution. Girdhur

is one of the best of boys. It is true that he ran away once. But even this exceptional misconduct served to illustrate how advantageous would be a general system of patronage. When Girdhur ran away, the aid of his patrons was requested towards his recovery. This assistance was promptly afforded, and the fugitive was soon brought back.

'If it be difficult, under existing circumstances, to get information as to what becomes of our discharged apprentices after they leave the institution, it must, of course, be still more so to obtain such information as regards the deserters; nevertheless, we do what we can with the means at our command, and are sometimes successful in discovering the habits and mode of life of those who have effected their escape from the institution. A boy named Sonoo-bin-Essoo—who, having been much trusted by the superintendent, absconded from the institution several years ago, making away with a few rupees which had been entrusted to him—was lately arrested and taken up to the Police Office. A technical difficulty there arose, however, which rendered it necessary to abandon the prosecution. A petition has since been received from him, begging for renewed confidence and support, which of course, in the interests of the institution, must be refused. When it is brought to my notice that any boy who, having absconded from the institution under circumstances which involved no breach of trust or other misconduct, is many months afterwards earning an honest livelihood by the exercise of skill in handicraft acquired in the institution, I think it generally the wisest plan, in the interests of the community, to waive the right of the institution to its apprentice's services, and to invite the youth over to the institution, for the purpose of encouraging him to continue in the right course. By these means I have succeeded, I think, in inducing several deserters, for their own protection from arrest, to take to an honest course of life in Bombay. It is gratifying also to learn, from a letter from a magistrate at Broach, that two boys from that town, who were apprenticed to the reformatory, and afterwards absconded, are now living respectably at Broach.'

Mr. Pratt adds:—

'It is satisfactory to be able to state, that the value of the reformatory seems now to be better appreciated than it used to be by those classes of the community for whose benefit it is intended. If our finances would permit of our admitting apprentices gratuitously, I think it probable that many private apprentices would be sent to us by their parents and guardians. The following case is cited, as affording strong evidence in support of my belief as to the growth, among the lower classes of the community, of something like a just recognition of the advantages offered by this institution. Moroo Hurree, an apprentice, received in 1864 from the Police Office, was allowed, by my *locum tenens* at the reformatory, a short leave of absence to visit his friends. He never returned from this leave, and he had not been long absent, when his mother reported that he had died of cholera. A few months ago this youth voluntarily surrendered himself to the superintendent, expressing with evident sincerity contrition for his folly, and he is now one of the most promising boys in the institution.'

The gratification of the boys is not lost sight of. The report mentions an excursion to Elephanta, through the kindness of Sir Bartle Frere, soon after his farewell visit to the reformatory. Mr. A. D. Sassoon and Mr. Godjie Bertram each sent a donation of twenty-five rupees for sweetmeats for the boys, on the last New Year's Day, and the Custom-house clerks sent them a large basket of dates and cocoanuts during the holidays.

It is satisfactory to observe that the secretary, Mr. Pratt, to whose unwearied efforts the institution is so greatly indebted, planned and developed a system, whereby the boys may be gradually prepared for liberty, very similar to our licence system in reformatories. Experience leads to the same general system in India as in England. He says:—

'I respectfully recommend that, for the future, the system which has been heretofore pursued with boys, of adhering to the strict letter of our bonds, be abandoned, and that the secretary be authorised, at his discretion, to obtain employment for deserving boys, before the terms of their apprenticeship expire, on the following conditions:—

1.—That the boys to whom the privilege of going out daily to work may be granted, shall be required to reside on the school premises until the expiration of their terms of apprenticeship.

2.—That the privilege may be withdrawn from any boy on his being convicted of misconduct in or out of school.

3.—That out of the monthly salary earned by each boy put out to service, the cost of his food and clothing shall be defrayed, and one rupee assigned to him as pocket-money; and that of the remainder, a moiety shall be credited to the institution, and the other half deposited in the Government Savings Bank, for use by the boy on his quitting the institution.

'By the measure which I recommend, the loss to the institution, in a financial point of view, would, I think, be inconsiderable, and would be amply compensated by many direct and collateral advantages which may reasonably be anticipated, among which not the least important is this advantage—that the boys who may be put out to service before the end of their terms of apprenticeship, would be thus, under the guardianship of the superintendent of the institution, gradually trained to habits of self-command and self-reliance, and would consequently be less likely, on the severance of their connection with the institution, to fall away from steady and industrious habits, than if they were retained, as is the present practice, in strict confinement until the end of their apprenticeship, and then received all at once their full measure of freedom.'

This institution is a very important one, and will lead

the way, it is hoped, to the establishment of many such in India, and, still more, to the passing of legislative measures which will render them effective. The greatest credit is due to the gentlemen who established and carried it on under great difficulties, confiding in the soundness of the principle that erring youths should be taught to earn an honest living, rather than be punished in jail.

That such an institution as the Sassoon Reformatory, or rather one similar to the English reformatories or Certified Industrial Schools, would be much valued by the native inhabitants, were suitable legislative provision made, was strongly impressed on my mind in the various parts of the country which I visited. The subject was especially discussed at Ahmedabad, in consequence of public attention being drawn to the condition of the young boys who formed part of the vagrant gang there brought up for judgment. The following are the views of a native assistant-magistrate of great experience, which he kindly wrote for me :—

'According to your wishes, I beg to submit the following information and suggestions in regard to juvenile offenders.

'Section 433 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (or Act XXV. of 1861) provides that, "When any person under the age of sixteen years shall be sentenced by any magistrate or court of session to imprisonment for any offence, it shall be lawful for such magistrate or court to direct that such offender, instead of being imprisoned in the criminal jail, shall be confined in any reformatory which may be recognised by the local Government as a fit place of confinement, in which there may be means of suitable discipline and of training in some branch of useful industry, and which shall be kept by a person willing to obey such rules as the Government may direct with regard to the discipline and training of persons confined therein. All

persons confined under this section shall be subject to the rules as laid down by the Government."

'There being, however, no reformatory, of the kind referred to above, at this station, all juvenile offenders sentenced to imprisonment, before Act VI. of 1864 came into force, were confined in the criminal jail, where they had of course to live and associate with those who generally spend a wicked life. Section 5 of the aforesaid Act provides, that "any juvenile offender who commits any offence which is not by the Indian Penal Code punishable with death, may, whether for a first or any other offence, be punished with whipping, in lieu of any other punishment to which he may, for such offence, be liable under the said Code." Accordingly, as the law now stands in this country, juvenile male offenders are punishable only with whipping to the extent of thirty stripes with a light rattan (*vide* Section 10 of the aforesaid Act), with certain exceptions, as laid down in the foregoing paragraph; and juvenile female offenders with imprisonment or fine, as is provided for every offence in the Indian Penal Code.

'I can, however, freely say, from what I have seen with my own eyes, that robust or wicked-minded juvenile male offenders can scarcely feel the above mode of punishment as a check for the future; while female juvenile offenders, in case of their inability to pay fine, or if the offence with which they are charged is not punishable only with fine, are confined in the criminal jail, where they have to pass their time with a majority of females of bad and immoral character.

'Independent of the above, in a large city like this, orphan or helpless children are frequently to be found as fit objects of support and improvement in an industrial institution.

'I am, therefore, strongly in favour of the establishment of a School of Industry at this station, as is contemplated by Section 433 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, for the confinement of juvenile offenders of both sexes, and the accommodation of children, who, not having proper modes of livelihood, are chiefly induced to support themselves by mixing with disreputable characters, or resorting to every sort of evil.

'The above school can, I believe, be conducted and maintained partly at the expense of Government, and partly at that of the Municipality and the Local Fund, which already assist the Educational Department to a certain extent, as Government have been pleased to arrange.

'The lowest cost of building a School of Industry I would estimate at 8,000 rupees, and that of the establishment at 150 rupees per mensem, for which sum an investment of 36,000 rupees appears to be necessary. The total sum thus amounts to 44,000 rupees, which can hardly be now raised by subscriptions in this country, owing to the existing crisis among the mercantile classes. I have been, therefore, inclined to suggest the above plan for carrying out, at once, the most laudable object you are kind enough to have in view for the good of the people of this country; and requesting you to accept my best thanks for the trouble you are taking in this and other matters tending to improve the condition of India, and wishing you every success, I beg to conclude this.'

Ahmedabad: October 14, 1866.

Such reformatories are intended for the comparatively civilised population of Bombay. It will be questioned whether they can be adapted to the reclamation of the children of the wild criminal tribes, of whom Major Hutchinson gave some account in his work, which was quoted in the third chapter of this volume. He affords us information on this point also. That numbers of those wild untaught boys actually do fall into the grasp of the law, and afford ample scope for reformatory treatment, we learn from a paper laid by him before the meeting of the Social Science Association, which assembled last September at Belfast. He says:—

'We are still worse off as regards juveniles, for we have absolutely no place of any kind suitable for their treatment. As a rule, magistrates (I think very wisely) abstain from sending them to jail; but I observe that in the Punjab Criminal

Report for 1864, 718 juveniles were convicted of offences, of whom about 100 under the age of sixteen were imprisoned, and 318 whipped. In the North-West, in 1865-66, 846 were imprisoned, and 611 whipped. This shows that we have quite enough boys who are thus forced on our hands, and whom we are obliged to punish, to call for the establishment of suitable reformatories. I am sure that, if suitable reformatories existed, many of the boys now dismissed by magistrates, because no suitable reformatories exist, and who continue in criminal pursuits until they are old enough and daring enough to oblige the law to incarcerate them in our jails, would be saved from ultimate ruin by timely detention in a reformatory.

'The Government wished me to report on what is called a reformatory in the Punjab, but which is merely a ward inside a jail. I found about twenty boys, of all degrees of guilt, including murder, all associated together, and with no training or teaching such as seemed to me likely to be beneficial to the weak, depressed, miserable-looking creatures.'

A similar spectacle I witnessed in Madras Jail; in that a little attempt at teaching was given, but not such as could counteract the evil arising from the association of experienced thieves, coming there after a second or third conviction, and young boys not as yet adepts in crime. We have already seen that the professional thieves bring up their children to their own calling. What must be the effect of the association of young Sansees and others of the same kind, full of the exploits of their worse than Arab life, with each other, and with such as may not yet have entered on a similar career! We all know well the effect of such intercourse in a prison, where there is nothing to call off the mind from the atmosphere of vice around. What is to cut off the entail of crime thus handed down in perpetuity from father to son? Still more, what is to arrest the practice of Thuggee, except by utter extermination, unless some

means are adopted to take off the young boys before they have learned the horrible art?—

'Thugs bring up all their male children (says Major Hutchinson) to the profession, unless bodily defects prevent them from following it. The method observed in initiating a boy is very gradual. At the age of ten or twelve years, he is first permitted to accompany a party of Thugs. One of the gang, generally a near relation, becomes his tutor, whom the child is taught to regard with great respect, and whom he usually serves in a menial capacity, carrying a bundle and dressing food for him. Frequently the father acts as preceptor to the son. In the event of being questioned by travellers whom he may meet, the boy is enjoined to give no information, further than that they are proceeding from some one place to another. He is instructed to consider his interest as opposed to that of society in general; and to deprive a human being of life is represented as an act merely analogous to that of killing a fowl or a sheep. At first, while a murder is committing, the boy is sent to some distance from the scene along with one of the watchers; then allowed to see only the dead body; afterwards more and more of the secret is imparted to him, and at length the whole is disclosed. In the meantime, a share in the booty is usually assigned to him. He is allowed afterwards to assist in matters of minor importance, while the murder is perpetrating; but it is not until he attains the age of 18, 20, or 22 years—according to the bodily strength he may have acquired, and the prudence and resolution he may have evinced—that he is deemed capable of applying the "dhote," nor is he allowed to do so until he has been formally presented with one by his tutor. Such is the effect of the cause of education, strengthened by habit, that Thugs become strongly attached to their detestable occupation, and rarely, if ever, abandon it.'—(Pp. 183, 186.)

Now, it may be supposed that it would be impossible to reform these boys, or the children of the professional thieving and begging tribes, the Sansees and others,

even before they have been thoroughly trained by their parents. A valuable experiment was, however, made by order of the Government. Measures, at the same time reformatory and repressive, were put in force against them. Major Hutchinson thus states what was done, in his official report, dated July 28, 1865 :—

'I. The tribe, being collected from each part of the district, is located within a walled enclosure, or village, called a *kof*, on ground suited for agriculture, or which is absolutely under cultivation.

'II. Sufficient assistance is intended to be given by the Government, and by private parties, to enable the tribe to exist, until the fruits of its own labour are adequate for its support.

'III. The members of the *kof* are not allowed, without permission, to be absent from the *kof* at night, and any member who absconds is liable to punishment. During the day they may go where they like.'

Major Hutchinson thus speaks of the system adopted, in his address at Belfast :—

'Under the order of Sir Robert Montgomery, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., these outcasts—men, women, and children—were collected from the villages, near which they lived in scattered hovels, and placed in low mud-walled enclosures containing houses for their accommodation. Land was given them by Government. The people of the country gladly and nobly helped; some gave grain, some ploughs, some dug wells for them. The land was good, and these tribes were told to cultivate it, and given the means of so doing, and food to support them. Of course, at first, there was much murmuring. How could they abandon their vagabond, begging, sporting career, and take to the uninteresting occupation of digging? However, in time, and by little and little, though they suffered much by their own imprudence and wasteful and filthy habits, they did bring this land under cultivation, and the experiment on the whole has succeeded.

'The Government asked me to report on it, and, in com-

pany with Mr. Prinsep, I did so in 1865. We visited each of these artificial villages, and ascertained that, under the constant care of various civil officers—amongst whom the names of Mr. James MacNabb, Majors Urmston and Mercer, justly merit most honourable mention—these criminals by profession were, to a very great extent, earning an honest livelihood. Of course they were still addicted to begging and other pursuits natural to the gipsy class, but they had made an immense advance in civilisation. They had learnt the rights of property, and acquired an interest and right in the land they cultivated. Clean clothes were to be seen on their leading men, and generally that scarcity of clothes and passionate love for jewellery, so common amongst such people all over the world, was not quite so conspicuous. Their children were attending schools in these villages—girls and boys—and had made great progress in reading and writing. Simple manufactures (such as those of ropes, mats, baskets, &c.) were going on, and generally the community showed signs and capabilities of increasing prosperity.

'No doubt, at present, the arrangements for these artificial villages are, owing to a want of funds, very incomplete; but this very serious evil will, I trust, be overcome, and this really grand experiment not allowed to languish for want of that timely aid all such works require in their early years. As matters now stand, the fact has been incontrovertibly established, that criminal tribes, whose members from generation to generation have subsisted chiefly by thieving, can be raised up into the position of useful members of the community, and be made in a very great degree to abandon their former criminal pursuits and degraded habits, by merely using the means at our disposal, and without any direct teaching of the Christian religion.'

Major Hutchinson thus speaks in his official report:—

'The attempt, the original design, has by no means been a failure. The fact remains that, in spite of many difficulties, in spite of great sickness, scarcity of food, and land requiring

hard labour to get a crop from it, the possibility of getting thieving tribes to attempt their own support by agricultural instead of criminal pursuits, has been placed beyond a doubt; it is for us to perfect and carry on what has been attempted, that success may be rendered sure and continuous. Their character is decidedly improved, and in some *kofs* they have really adopted clothes in addition to a mere loin-cloth; and, as I myself saw with agreeable surprise, these clothes, in the case of two or three of the head-men, were positively clean. Crimes are stated, by the Deputy Commissioner, to have decreased since these tribes were thus collected in reformatory villages. Schools are in full work amongst them; the scholars —boys and girls—examined before me, showed quite sufficient ability to give very great encouragement to this most important part of the reformatory treatment. I do not advocate the attempting towards these tribes such a reformatory system of control as I should certainly strongly recommend to be enforced in all juvenile reformatories; but I consider we owe it to ourselves, to them, and to the community amongst whom we have located these criminal tribes, to establish over them such supervision as shall, to the best of our judgment, lead to their reformation, and to the peace and security of the country. It is no slight responsibility which the Government has undertaken; but I may note, as worthy of attention, that the Government commences its labours with the great advantage of having all these people in families, the very system which at Mettray is found to be so absolutely necessary.'—(Pp. 205, 206.)

Mr. MacNabb, Deputy Commissioner of Sealkote, in his report of 1862, speaks of the effect of this plan. Since the agricultural portion of the Sansees have been brought under its action, he states that the police returns of three months greatly diminished. 'The country people,' he says, 'are delighted with the new arrangement.' The commissioner was told, when lately in the district, that 'now professional thieving was being

put a stop to.' If there were any waste land in the district, I would most earnestly urge that arrangements might be made for the remaining Pukhewars, also for all Chooras of doubtful character.'

Such an experiment places beyond doubt the possibility of controlling and reforming even adults by the adoption of judicious means, and reclaiming them from their wild and lawless life. Still more easy would it be to act on the youthful population, before settled habits of crime are formed. It is evident that a very different kind of juvenile reformatory would be required for a rural district from that suitable for a city, where trades would be a valuable means of livelihood. The following is a sketch of a proposed reformatory for boys in such a district, if the Government should authorise the experiment with boys under a long sentence of imprisonment. It was written in answer to a request for suggestions on the subject by an official gentleman. The writer is evidently imbued with the principles adopted by our best European reformatories; and being practically acquainted with Indian life, he has developed the scheme so admirably, that I make no apology for introducing it here, except to him, for doing so without his permission :—

'Now for my suggestions on the subject of your letter. You have apparently twenty "Senorias," criminals from infancy so to speak, 16 of whom are under 12, and all under 17. You have also some boys in jail; you wish to establish some kind of reformatory treatment for the young delinquents, and NOT to keep them in jail.

'As you have not, at first starting, any properly prepared establishment to receive the lads—no buildings, no teachers; and as the lads are for the most part, by your account, of a very wild untameable nature, vagrant, and thieves by blood, so to speak, I think they must (though for others I hope it may not

be needed) have at first to taste of what is sharp and severe treatment in jail, only let it not be *unkind* treatment.

'I. To do this I would at once place them entirely separate from the adult prisoners.

'II. Carefully explain to each child that your object is to do him good; to teach him to overcome his bad habits, which do him harm, and acquire good habits which shall be for his good. Explain to each child the system under which he can work, and earn his way to a mitigation of position, and eventual discharge. Archbishop Whately and Captain Maconochie, on this point, laid down this great principle, thus stated by the Recorder of Birmingham (late of Bristol), Mr. Davenport Hill: 'That while no motive which can furnish a wholesome stimulus to the offender to enter on a course of self-improvement, and persevere therein, should be withheld, on the other hand, that no advantage, whether in the shape of relaxation of stringent discipline, or in facilities for working himself out of detention, should be conferred *unless* they have been *earned* by his sedulous and untiring industry and good behaviour; and that he should forfeit his privileges, some or all, if guilty of misconduct." If you can promise the lad that, if he does well, you will put him in a much better place, a reformatory outside, then tell him so; but we must be *most careful* to promise nothing to any prisoner, old or young, which we cannot grant, and the non-receipt of which would be by them looked on as a breach of faith, and destroy our moral influence.

'III. Each lad must, at night, sleep by himself. You have no teacher who as yet could control them at night if they all slept in one ward, and the teacher with them.

'IV. Let as few signs of imprisonment be visible as possible; no irons, and do not put them on a *prison* dress, but a nice suitable boy's dress of one uniform pattern.

'V. On no possible pretence let any adult prisoner have any communication with the lads.

'I suggest the following division of the day, so long as you must keep the lads inside the jail—*until* your reformatory buildings are ready, and teachers; also until you have gained

some knowledge of and influence over the boys. I consider the treatment in jail the boys should *recollect* as irksome, painful, penal, and feel the change to your reformatory a privilege. Bearing this in mind my proposals are—

'1. Boys to rise at daylight.

'2. Each boy at once to fold up his bedding in the way he will be instructed, and clean out his cell.

'3. Half an hour to be allowed for each boy to eat some food *before* commencing work.

'4. Labour to commence after this, and to be continued till it is deemed necessary again to give food; probably this would be twelve o'clock.

'5. After this meal, boys to be marched up and down; taught to walk steadily in twos or fours, or any simple movement taught them; at this time they may advantageously be put through extensive motions, or any movement which will bring their muscles into play, and stretch their limbs. The meal and the exercise should not occupy more than one hour and a half.

'6. Labour should commence again, and should continue to within one hour and a half of the close of daylight, when food should be again given, and half an hour allowed for it.

'7. School should occupy the last hour of daylight. Such is a rough sketch, giving a general idea. You will observe I allow no *absolute play; that* is a privilege for your reformatory. I hope none of your boys will be more than three months in this jail; and once your reformatory is started, and has a good moral tone in it, then no boy should ever go inside a jail, but straight to your reformatory. He, however, would always be liable to be sent to jail if he behaved badly; and some persons think boys should *always* have a taste of jail, to make them value a reformatory. Certainly in India I would spare them a taste of *our jails*, which I look on as sinks of iniquity.

'8. Now as regards *labour*. I consider that, while the first batch are in jail, that it must be severe and penal. I would divide it into two kinds: 1st, severe, penal; 2nd, lighter, less penal. The boys should have to pass, as regards labour, through

three classes: 1st class—6 hours' hard labour, remaining hours lighter and pleasanter; 2nd class—4 hours a day hard labour, remaining hours as above; 3rd class—2 hours a day hard labour, remaining hours as above. Duration in each class to depend, to some extent, on a lad's own conduct and exertions; the minimum period to be—1st class, 15 days; 2nd class, 30 days; 3rd class, remainder of time in jail. The amount of hard labour may appear to you small, but remember you are dealing with *boys*—with young creatures who do not understand that they are really offenders against the laws of God or man; also a child's nature easily rises and falls, and we must be careful of depressing them—of driving them to deceit and lying by unwise severity. *Hard labour* you can inflict in various ways; if possible, never let it be aimless. Let the lad see some result in his labour; you can make him grind corn, or raise water, &c. *Light labour*—gardening, learning any trade, &c.; all these are light in one sense, and should be conferred as a privilege.

'9. *School.*—One hour a day, the last of daylight. Teach, assuredly, what will do them good morally: the existence of one God—of good and evil—what is right and what is wrong—knowledge of the world, of the heavens, of agriculture, of trade; in fact, everything that may be useful to them in *their positions* in life after they leave you.

'10. *Punishments and Rewards.*—You cannot do better than be guided by the experience of Mettray. I copy it out for your convenience, for its principles are purer than gold, and should be written on the hearts of all who would reform the young. Much greater use is made of rewards than of punishments; of stimulants to do right, than of deterrents from doing wrong.

'11. The rules regarding honorary pay, which I found in force in England at a boys' reformatory, are worthy of your consideration. A boy must keep himself free from marks for one calendar month to be entitled to a position on the Good Conduct List. Three months' position on the Good Conduct List entitles him to a penny a week honorary pay; six months entitles to ditto and a single badge; eight months to 1½*d.* and a single badge; ten months to 1½*d.* and a double badge; twelve

months to 2*d.* and a double badge. A badge is a necessary qualification for permission to go beyond the limits of the farm reformatory. A single badge entitles the wearer to one extra holiday, and a double badge to two, in certain fixed periods.

'12. I have roughly sketched the way your lads might be treated whilst in jail. No doubt you have the very wildest material to work on, but you say sixteen are under twelve; this is much in our favour, only a "Senoria" above twelve is an old man in iniquity. Treat them in jail so that they shall feel you *mean* to be kind to them—to do them good; at the same time, the treatment must be so penal that they will not like to be sent back there. During the period they are in jail your master should get to know *each boy*, and should obtain influence over him, so that, when you move all to your reformatory, his influence will tend to keep him there. Teach each boy thoroughly, and see that he understands what is before him. If he does well, he should know that, as soon as you are satisfied he is reformed, you will do your best to place him out in life where he can earn an honest livelihood. If he does badly, he must know what penalties lie before him—severe jail discipline at the least. Impress on each boy you remove to a reformatory the *privilege* of the move—that he is not confined by walls but to limits. If he goes beyond those limits, on *any pretence*, he must be severely punished; let him thoroughly understand that if one boy runs away, *all the boys* will be fined out of the money they have earned, to pay for his recapture. Arrange so that the boys can make little purchases of sweetmeats and *useful* things from their earnings; boys like immediate returns. The dress of the boys on the farm should in no way resemble prison costume, but be uniform, and such that, if a boy was seen beyond limits, the peasantry should notice him.

'13. To start with, you should select a piece of *good* ground for your reformatory—ground that, with ordinary toil, will yield good crops. *Children* like to *see* the results of their labours. It should, I think, be near ———, so that the

farm-produce of all kinds may be readily sold, and officers available to visit it now and then. Be careful to explain its object *thoroughly* to all the *influential natives around*—to all head-men of villages, and enlist their sympathies and aid before you start it; make some of them *honorary visitors*, encourage them to take an interest in it. Ensure the aid of all villagers to catch a boy if he runs away. Having your ground, lay out a house capable of holding (say) thirty boys, not more. It should be of no better material than those of the peasantry of the country; and as far as possible, when once you have provided shelter, the boys should finish and complete it. Allot to it as much ground as you think the boys will be able to cultivate, allowing for those classes against whose *caste you say* it would be to work in the fields. I would try and get over this impediment, and make all work in the fields for at least one year. After that, as a *privilege*, they may take to lighter labour, such as trades, &c. Let your *dormitory* be so arranged that at night it can be locked up, and certainly, at *first* starting, you had better lock up the boys at night. Arrange for workshops. Each boy should have his own bed (*charpoy*) and a box, but *no key*; explain to them that each is responsible for his neighbour's box. Enforce great tidiness, and, as far as is consistent with labour, great personal cleanliness; with many a lad, self-respect dates from the time he commenced keeping his hands and face clean. As in England, so in India, there can be a lavatory with tubs of water, and one or two "endless towels" or rollers allowed for all the boys daily. The boys should be superintended by a master, an agricultural teacher, a schoolmaster, and a trade teacher to each house. As your number increases build another house, and allot it a piece of ground. No house to contain more than thirty at first. As you get on, perhaps you will only require one agricultural master and trade teacher to two houses or more, but at first starting the staff of superintendents *must* be strong. Recollect that, at first, you have no moral *tone or feeling* amongst the boys to help you. At first do not appoint one boy monitor over the others: when a boy has shown he

is to be *trusted*, then he may have certain powers and privileges. As a rule, I would never set one criminal boy to teach another anything except *manual* work. You need high-toned, high-principled men to teach them. There are many details which I cannot notice here. Write to me on every possible occasion that you feel inclined; be assured of my warmest sympathy and anxiety to help. For five years I have studied this subject, and had advantages in seeing work in France, England, and Ireland, which few have had—so I can give you pretty fairly the experience of those countries. Send for Miss Carpenter's "Juvenile Delinquents," published by Newman & Co., Dalhousie Square, Calcutta; it contains a world of instruction and information. Pray let me know what you do, and may God bless and prosper the efforts of all in your province who take up this noble cause!'

Nothing better can be desired for the juvenile criminals and vagrants of India, than that they should be subjected to some such treatment as this. Two or three such reformatories, established in different parts of the country, where the greatest facilities present themselves, and where they can be under the superintendence of some gentlemen interested in the object, would serve as model schools. The actual experience already cited leaves no doubt that, if properly supported, enlightened and benevolent natives would gladly second such an undertaking.

We trust that a long period will not elapse before the Government has placed reformatories on a satisfactory legislative basis.

CHAPTER VII.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.

THE condition of the prisons of India must painfully startle the most casual observer. A general absence of buildings suitable for the purpose is evident everywhere. In some places, dilapidated walls and insecure fences forcibly strike the eye; in others, heavy inconvenient buildings, intended for a very different purpose. Rarely, if ever, are any jail buildings to be seen, adapted to carry out the principles of prison discipline, which are now generally acknowledged to be sound, and of great importance to the well-being of society. That such a condition of jail buildings exists in India, is not to be considered as the result of culpable negligence in the ruling authorities, past or present. The enormous press of business which has to be transacted in that vast empire, the comparatively small number of official gentlemen on whom these duties fall, the immense variety of departments requiring attention, each one of which is sufficient to be all-absorbing to those engaged in it, the immense distances which have to be traversed in going from one part of the empire to the other, and the difficulties of communication between the great centres of civilisation,—all these considerations rather lead to astonishment that so much has been done, rather than that some departments lag behind the general progress.

Of all subjects, prison discipline is one of the least likely to attract public attention in India. From the

very circumstances of the case this must necessarily be so. The enlightened native community do not feel called upon to take any concern in a subject which they have not studied, and which does not directly concern them, especially while they are so deeply interested in, and occupied with, its advancement. The English residents have already too much on their hands, and there are no gentlemen of leisure who can devote themselves exclusively, as in our own country, to philanthropic subjects. All these considerations lead us to feel only more strongly the necessity of enlisting the attention of those who can devote themselves to the work, and who will remember the strong moral claims which the Hindoo prisoners have upon us.

If the prisoners in England and their condition in other countries of Europe were worth the life-devotion of a Howard, and needed it to awaken public attention to the subject; if nothing less than the spiritual power, the genius, the devotion of a Mrs. Fry, was a worthy offering to this great work, surely some should arise with no less devotion to the cause of humanity, which has so much greater claim on us from the utter helplessness of the wretched subjects of it to help themselves, since they are under the sway of a foreign power with which they have no kindred or sympathy.

That first era of the dawn of light on the principles which should govern prison discipline, was rather one of Christian benevolence, but the minds of enlightened men became more and more drawn to the subject in our country, and many years ago it became an accepted idea that the reformation of the prisoner should be one great object of prison discipline. The right mode of harmonising that with punishment for crime and the deterrent element of penal discipline, was, in our own country, the

continual and earnest subject of thought and practical effort among the most enlightened and experienced public men. No money was considered by the Government ill-spent which appeared necessary to carry out a sound system. The whole subject is a most difficult one, and nothing but actual experience can demonstrate the soundness of systems. Still, the repression of crime and the protection of society were deemed by our Legislature matters of so much importance as to require a special Royal Commission in 1865, to investigate the working of different systems, and to correct errors at present existing. Our convicts force themselves, whether we desire it or not, on the attention of society. It is now acknowledged in both hemispheres to be our solemn duty to ascertain and to adopt such a system as has been proved to be both corrective and reformatory.

No general system of prison, still less of reformatory discipline, has yet been adopted in India, and the efforts which have been made in Great Britain and Ireland to reform our own criminals, have not yet been extended to our great dependency.

Yet, has she not a paramount claim on our attention in this particular respect? Sunk in the deepest ignorance, and with the criminal habits of many generations strangely rooted in them, are we to deprive them of liberty, grasping them with the strong hand of the law, solely to punish them, and obtain as much labour as possible from them, without attention to their mental or physical condition, and without an attempt to send them forth into the world better able to do their duty to God and to man, and raised in the scale of existence? Yet such appears to be generally the condition of things in India! I never once heard anyone express the faintest expectation that the present state of Indian prisons

could do anything but perpetuate the degradation of the criminal population; while the many excellent and enlightened men, who earnestly desire to ameliorate the condition of Hindoo prisoners, both male and female, were unable to do so through the present state of the prisons, and of the jail regulations, which often arise out of their condition.

Such were my own impressions from the visits recorded briefly in the foregoing narrative, and such will probably be those of the thoughtful reader. I therefore respectfully laid before His Excellency the Viceroy, before leaving Calcutta, the following brief remarks and suggestions, hoping that he might condescend to draw the attention of the proper department to them.

Common Jails.

In all the jails I visited, great attention appeared to be paid to the industrial work, which, in many cases, was admirably carried on; the prisoners were thus being prepared to procure an honest livelihood for themselves on their discharge, and considerable proceeds were realised towards their expenses. A salutary influence appeared to be exercised over the prisoners, who in general were working with diligence and good-will, under proper superintendence.

The good effects which might be anticipated from this system were, however, greatly diminished by the want of separate cells. It is evident that when, for twelve hours out of twenty-four, men are locked up in cells without light—sometimes three or four together, sometimes even from forty to fifty—*nothing but the worst results can be expected.* It is quite impossible that even common order or propriety can be preserved. Immoral communication must neutralise any good influence which the prisoners may have received during the day. The greatest contamination must be the result of such an arrangement, and, at the same time, the deterrent effect of punishment is much lost, as solitude is greatly

dreaded by this class of prisoners. Not only are the moral effects of the existing system very injurious, but also the physical. The various prison reports frequently speak of a dreadful mortality decimating the jails, or even carrying off one-fourth of the whole number of prisoners. This must be chiefly due to the sleeping arrangements, which bring persons of poor or even of bad constitutions into injurious proximity with each other. Overcrowding the jails appears to be the usual cause of any great mortality, as in other respects sanitary arrangements are carefully attended to in other jails I visited.

The construction of separate sleeping-cells in all the jails would of course involve considerable expense, but this would be, in most cases, greatly lessened by employing the labour of the prisoners. In many of the jails which I visited, a sufficient number of cells could be erected without any other cost but that of material. Still, whatever may be the outlay needed, it is evident that it should not be any impediment in the way of doing what is so important both for the moral and the physical welfare of the prisoners.

The want of any arrangements for securing instruction to the prisoners is also a great evil. It is now an acknowledged principle in the treatment of prisoners, that every means practicable should be afforded them of leaving the jails better members of society than when they entered it; instruction is evidently a most important means of securing this, especially in the case of these prisoners. We cannot give them religious instruction, but we can give them that teaching and that moral influence which may enable them both to know and to do their duty. In no jails that I visited was there any place provided for instruction, *nor was there any schoolmaster on the staff.* The jail regulations did not make any provision for these, or for any time when instruction could be given to the prisoners. The teaching given in Alipore Jail cannot be regarded as an exception, because this is not universal, and is chiefly with a view to enable the prisoners to do such work as requires a knowledge of reading and writing.

I would beg respectfully to suggest that regular instruction

should be made an essential part of the prison discipline of every jail. To effect this, the hours of labour need not be shortened, as three hours could advantageously be deducted from those spent in sleep; a proper schoolroom and apparatus would require to be provided for, and especially a suitable number of teachers.

The removal of the long-sentenced prisoners from the common jails, which is, I am informed, under contemplation, will doubtless facilitate the adoption of both of these changes, and in many ways be a considerable advantage.

Central Jails or Convict Prisons.

The erection of these for long-sentenced prisoners will be a very important measure, and will not only remove a great difficulty which now exists in the management of the common jails, but will also afford an opportunity of carrying out the admirable system of convict treatment which proved so successful in Ireland under the management of Sir Walter Crofton. The principles of this system are now being universally accepted by distinguished persons in every part of the world who have studied the subject, as well as by the Royal Commission on Prison Discipline in 1863. For a full statement of those principles, and of their practical application, I beg to refer to the second volume of my work, entitled 'Our Convicts.'

India appears in many ways to present peculiar facilities for carrying out this system, and the remarkable results of the industrial system developed in Alipore Jail prove that it might be done at comparatively little expense. The success with which the licence system is carried out in Poona by the Acting Superintendent demonstrates that, under careful management, prisoners trained under a good system may be easily absorbed into society as self-supporting and honest members of it. In the erection of the central jails, therefore (convict prisons as they are termed in England), it appears particularly important that regard should be had to adapting them to

develope this system. It is especially necessary that there should be separate sleeping-cells for all the prisoners, except for those who have arrived at the third or intermediate stages, which is the final preparation for discharge.

Female Prisoners.

In all the jails which I have visited, except in Calcutta, the female prisoners occupied a portion of the ordinary jail. This was usually the worst portion of the place, and there was no provision for separation, either by night or by day. They were under the care of male warders. The work provided for them was of a nature not to improve them, and no instruction was given them. In one jail I saw five women, one a murderess, locked up together! No lady visitors ever go near them; indeed, I was informed in one case that the habits of the prisoners are so filthy that it would be impossible for ladies to approach them, and sit down among them.

It may easily be imagined what is the result of this. Not only is it impossible for any improvement to take place, but the women become deteriorated. In one jail I was informed that the good dietary and the freedom from strict discipline so completely removed all dread of imprisonment, that the women repeatedly returned after discharge.

It is evident that this is an enormous evil.

I would beg respectfully to urge—

First.—That all the female prisoners should be in separate cells, unless working under suitable supervision.

Secondly.—That female warders *only* should have charge of the prisoners. It is probable that the chief of these at least must be a European, to secure proper discipline.

Thirdly.—That the work should be of a kind to fit the women to earn their livelihood on their discharge.

Fourthly.—That regular instruction should be provided for them.

Fifthly.—That European ladies should be invited to visit them, as in England, with a view to impart to them a kind and good influence.

Though my visits to jails were short, and may be presumed to be somewhat superficial, yet I have found official reports speak still more strongly than I did on the evils arising from the want of proper jail accommodation, involving both great mortality and increase of crime. Gentlemen of high experience have often expressed their opinions to me, both orally and in writing, respecting the evils caused by night association. Dr. Mouat thus speaks, as quoted by the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of December 17, 1867:—

'Dr. Mouat, the Inspector-General of Jails for the Lower Provinces of Bengal, in his report for 1866-67, calls attention to certain defects in the Indian prison system. The Bengal jails appear to be very faulty in construction, and this is not only directly injurious to the health of the inmates, but indirectly also to their morals, by preventing a proper classification of prisoners. Collective imprisonment, as at present carried out in India, converts the jails into "*training schools of vice and crime.*" "*The demoralising effect of this association,*" says Dr. Mouat, "*is so great that I cannot venture to do more than refer to it; it is a scandal and a reproach that would not be tolerated in Great Britain for a day beyond the time necessary to remove it, by a proper construction of prisons, no matter at what cost.*" In France, the change from the collective to the cellular system of imprisonment was followed by a great reduction of mortality; and a careful study of English prisons and prison discipline, during a recent visit to this country, confirmed Dr. Mouat's preference for the separate system. "*From want of cell accommodation,*" (in Bengal), says Dr. Mouat, "*judicial sentences of solitary confinement cannot at present be carried out at all, and whipping is resorted to in a very large number of cases, for which I do not consider it to be a fit or proper punishment. Fetters are, for the same reasons, applied much too frequently—and in one jail were most improperly imposed on females.*" In other words, the punishments are regulated by expediency instead

of law; when the prescribed punishment cannot be enforced, for lack of the *modus operandi*, an irregular penalty is substituted. Then the guarding of the prisons of Bengel is declared to be in a very unsatisfactory state. "*Nearly every jail in the Lower Provinces is so extremely insecure, and so deficient in all the essentials of a prison, that the paucity of escapes*—2·06 *per cent. of average strength in* 1866—*rather than their number, is a matter of surprise to me.*" There are at present 2,007 escaped convicts from the prisons of the Lower Provinces at large.'

A study of the Reports of the Directors of prison discipline in the different Presidencies, would strengthen the convictions here expressed, and would show a frightful degree of mortality caused by the present state of the prisons.

The subject is a vast one, for it is said that there are, in different parts of the empire, as many as 600,000 prisoners, while very few of the jails in which they are confined are such as to render possible an effective system of prison discipline. The consequences of this deficiency are most costly as well as injurious. The insecurity of the boundary-walls necessitates the employment of a large body of guards, in some cases as many as one to five prisoners—an enormous standing expenditure. The non-deterrent or reformatory nature of the jails prevents the possibility of diminution of crime, and this perpetuates the cost. The dilapidated and objectionable nature of some jails, which have been for several years condemned, causes great and constant difficulty in the management of them; and doubtless leads to severity of discipline, which must be very repugnant to the feelings of humane and enlightened men. Such statements as were made by the superintendent of the Calcutta Jail, at a recent inquest,

sufficiently prove this. It would, of course, be impossible to remedy at once so gigantic an evil, but this should not be a hindrance to doing something. If all new central jails for long-sentenced prisoners were built on a plan calculated for carrying out an improved system of prison discipline, with separate sleeping accommodation; and if all condemned jails were at once rebuilt on a similar plan, other improvements would doubtless follow, under the management of the many able and enlightened gentlemen who are to be found in India. Such a recommendation was made in a memorial addressed by the British Social Science Association to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Northcote.* The subject is occupying the attention of the Indian Government; it is, therefore, unnecessary to dwell further on it here. I would only earnestly entreat for those of my own sex, for the convicted women of India, that no time should be lost in providing for them at least suitable accommodation, instructive and industrial training, and, above all, proper female supervision, at whatever cost, so that every sentenced woman may have the opportunity afforded to her of going again into the world better able to discharge her duties to her family and to society.''

* *Vide* Appendix E.

CONCLUSION.

THE aspirations with which I entered on my Eastern travels were more than fulfilled by my 'Six Months' Residence in India.'

My first grand object, was to give to our fellow-subjects in that great empire a token of true sympathy with them, and interest in their welfare; I believed that they may thus be assured, that not one, but many of England's daughters—especially those who have, like myself, had their love for the children of the same Father strengthened by long years of trial and discipline—have a deep and true feeling for their race, which they only desire an opportunity of testifying. This object would have been accomplished if my health had failed, and I had never returned from those distant shores, or if I had been compelled to depart home from Bombay by the next mail after my arrival, to save my life. I humbly offer the incense of a grateful heart to Him who renewed my strength, and preserved me in journeying, by sea and by land, for thousands of miles over that vast continent. Everywhere my intention was comprehended and responded to by those to whom my friendly visit was directed; and it was earnestly sought for in numberless places, where I was compelled by circumstances to forego the pleasure of accepting the invitation. One more bond of sympathy is thus added

to unite the East and the West—an enduring one, which time will not sever!

The next object I had in view, was to learn the actual position of female education in India; to discover the real obstacles to its progress, and the cause of the inadequate returns for the devoted zeal of my countrymen and countrywomen, and their large expenditure of money. I wished also to ascertain whether my past experience would be in any way available in the promotion of this great object. My friendly intercourse with enlightened native gentlemen, and the confidence with which they regarded my intentions, enabled me to gain a clearer insight into this most important subject, in a few months, than I otherwise might have obtained in many years. I have thus been enabled to devise a scheme which meets their wants, and which, carried out in its entirety, and in the spirit in which it is conceived, will, I firmly believe, prove a great blessing to the country, and meet the wants of the enlightened native population, by enabling them to obtain the help of educated Englishwomen in the elevation of their wives and daughters, without dread of interference with their religion or social customs; we may thus prepare them to help themselves, which at present they are unable to do."

Other results, however, have arisen from my Indian tour, beyond those which I directly contemplated.

I did not go out as a religious missionary. I was, as I constantly assured my native friends (in answer to their enquiries), unconnected with any society or organisation, and was quite alone. Though, as I publicly stated in every place I visited, I value Christianity above all things, as the guide of my life and the spring of my actions—though it is to me the pearl of unspeakable price, and I desire that all should share the privilege

I hold so dear—though I believe that the sway of our Divine Master is destined to extend over all the nations of the earth, and that the acceptance of it would prove an inestimable boon to the people of Hindostan—yet, respecting the individual freedom of every immortal being, as I value my own, I would not, if I could, obtrude my own religion upon them. Christianity is a purely spiritual religion, and must be accepted freely, by each individual, from the conviction of his own inner spirit, or it is of little value. I believe, indeed, that injudicious or obtrusive efforts at the conversion of others, however praiseworthy the zeal which prompts them, hinder the very object they are intended to promote, and often arouse a spirit of antagonism, which is most unfavourable to it. The great Hindoo reformer, whose portrait forms the frontispiece of these volumes, expressed himself very strongly to the same effect. He accepted the Christian religion as the most perfect revelation of the Divine Will that has ever been made, and desired that the 'Precepts of Jesus' should be followed by his countrymen throughout the length and breadth of the land, as the 'guide to peace and happiness.' The present leader of the religious movement among the Hindoos, Keshub Chunder Sen, shares with him these desires, sympathising fully, as he has said, with the spirit of Christianity. He has truly and beautifully declared, that every Christian who visits the country should be a missionary, by living out the spirit of his religion before the native population, and thus helping to remove the prejudices which hinder their acceptance of it. In this way, I humbly hope that my visit may have left an impression favourable to the Gospel of Christ, and may have helped on some in their own religous life and work.

Having discovered in myself a power of which I was not before conscious, of giving extemporary addresses in public, whenever I felt a distinct call to do so, in the explanation of my views and objects, an unexpected means was opened to me of disseminating what appeared to me important truths. Couched in simple language, they appeared to be readily comprehended by the general audience; and being reported in the public papers, frequently by natives themselves, an impulse appeared to be given to the minds of my hearers, and to others in different parts of the country. The seed was sown by the wayside, but in some places it fell on rich ground already prepared. I was not sanguine enough to expect to see the fruits ripen during my short stay. We have been taught that first the blade must spring up, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. I have been accustomed to devote myself to the labour of love, in the patience of hope. Yet some of the seed has already sprung up with full tropical luxuriance, and, sustaining vigorously the full burden and heat of the day, has already borne rich fruit.

The most proud and happy result of my journey, to my own mind, was, however, to see for myself the wise and noble manner in which the Government of my native country, and her many sons and daughters who have gone out to that distant land, have laboured most successfully to promote her true interest, and her elevation to a high position among the nations. I had the satisfaction, also, of finding that this is most fully appreciated by the intelligent Hindoos. If I have, in the course of this work, freely used the privilege of an Englishwoman, in pointing out any deficiencies which struck me, and offering some of the suggestions, which occur to a stranger more readily than to a resident, it

will be easily believed that I have been actuated by no feeling, but that all who are working for India have one common object—her true welfare. There are enormous difficulties to be surmounted; those entrusted with the government of a country must feel them far more than private individuals can often comprehend, and cannot at once remedy evils, however much they may desire to do so. This I frequently stated to my native friends; and when I heard them earnestly express the wish that all the differences should be removed which separate the two races, I rejoiced to be able truly to say, from personal knowledge, 'No one in the Empire desires this more than his Excellency the Viceroy.'

I have felt it my duty to India to come thus personally before the public, for the first time in my life. I could not otherwise convey the impression I formed from my visit, and, by doing so, awaken the interest I desire. I hope for kind indulgence to the many imperfections of my work, and trust that those for whose sake it is written will accept it in the spirit in which it is offered. May the blessing of our Common Father rest upon it!

Red Lodge House, Bristol: Feb. 13, 1868.

APPENDIX A.

Address to the Educational Section of the Bethune Society: Calcutta, December, 1866.*

A SPECIAL MEETING of the members of the Bethune Society was held in the theatre of the Medical College, on Tuesday, the 18th December, at 5 P.M., to listen to an address from Miss Carpenter. The subject chosen was, 'The Reformatory School System with reference to Female Crime.' The address was intended more particularly for that section of the society which is devoted to the consideration of female education.

Many were desirous to hear her upon that one department of social science, which for so many years she had made her specialty, and to which she had personally given her chief attention. This is the protection and redemption of the young from degradation and moral neglect in large cities. It includes the reformation of juvenile offenders, and the saving treatment of neglected children of both sexes; but particularly the offspring of parents abandoned to drunkenness and crime, who are too willing to initiate their children into the same courses—*i.e.*, to lead lives most costly to the State and ruinous to themselves. This subject, so essentially interesting and attractive to all philanthropists, from the sternest judge in our courts to the tenderest heart of woman, was treated with a directness and practicality, a richness of illustration, and a fulness of statistical and personal experience, which made the hour a rare treat to a crowded audience, embracing a large variety of sympathies. Europeans and Eurasians filled the circle nearest

* From the 'Times of India' and the 'Englishman.'

the chairman; and there was a fair representation of both sexes, notwithstanding the fact that nearly all the Sunday-schools in Calcutta were, at that hour, thronging to anniversary fêtes in the churches, and many gentlemen and ladies, Sabbath-school teachers, were thus prevented from attending. The native students of the Medical and Presidency Colleges, located in that neighbourhood, were out in large numbers, and the teachers and older pupils of the School of Useful Arts were there by Miss Carpenter's invitation; besides many native gentlemen, both Christian, Brahmo, and Hindoo, who are prominent in educational and other reforms in this part of India.

The Hon. J. B. Phear, who occupied the chair, made a few introductory remarks, after which Miss Carpenter rose and spoke as follows:—

'It had been my wish to dwell this evening entirely on the education of what are termed the perishing and dangerous classes; but finding that this section of the Bethune Society is devoted to female education, I will commence by giving my views on that subject especially, and will then proceed to consider education as affecting the criminal classes.

'All of you are aware that in England women hold a very different position from that which they occupy in India. In England they are regarded as fellow-workers with and helpers of men. By giving them a liberal education, it is not intended that they should take the place of the other sex, but that they should be better qualified than they would otherwise be, for discharging their own peculiar duties. I can testify that my own education, which was carried on under my father's superintendence, and which included a training in such subjects as classics and mathematics, never unfitted me for domestic duties, but, on the contrary, rendered me in all respects more fully qualified to accomplish a woman's mission.

'After completing my own education in my father's home, being anxious to improve the female mind, I commenced the practical work of education, and spent twenty years in training young ladies belonging to the higher classes of society. In the school which I carried on with my mother and sisters, not

only female accomplishments but the classics were taught, as also needlework and other things useful in a family. Among the ladies thus educated, some made it their business in after-life to instruct the poor and ignorant; others became admirable wives, and, while conscientiously fulfilling the duties which they owed to their families, entered upon extended spheres of usefulness.

'This higher education does not, then, as is sometimes supposed, unfit women for their special duties, but, on the contrary, enables them to become better wives, better mothers, and more useful members of society. By women, the infant minds of both sexes are trained. Not a few illustrious men have ascribed their pre-eminence to the influence of their mothers. Sir William Jones, with whose name you must all be familiar, affords a remarkable instance of the effect which a mother's teaching and example can produce upon a youthful mind.

'Having matured and developed my plans for the education of the higher classes, I now felt anxious to do something for the poorer and more degraded portion of society. I would here observe that you have not in India young children of eight or ten years of age who come within the grasp of the law: I am ashamed to say that in England such has been the case. These children (I here refer especially to the girls), after being subjected to punishment, become outcasts from society; respectable people do not like to engage them for domestic servants, and they are quite cut off from all ameliorating influences.

'Now, I asked myself, was it the fault of these girls that they were thus condemned to a life of degradation and crime? The answer that presented itself to me was, It is *not* their fault; they are placed by God in this world, and they are His children, for He is the common Father of us all; and surely God would not destine any of His creatures to an existence of irremediable crime and misery! Was it, I asked myself, by an innate depravity that these children were condemned for their lifetime to be felons and outcasts? The answer suggested to me was, that their depravity was not innate, but was owing to neglect

and bad education—to their having worthless parents, or to their having no parents at all. It was the duty of society, then, I argued, to give these children such an education as would preserve them from all temptation to break the law, and would supply that moral training of which, by adverse circumstances, they had been deprived.

'I am aware that, as in England so in India, the objection has been urged, that to give a good education to these classes will be a premium on crime. But such is really not the case. There is in the human mind an instinctive love of liberty, and this feeling is remarkably developed in these young criminals, who lead a wild and reckless life. By them it is not considered an advantage to be deprived of their freedom, and to be confined in any institution, however comfortable. Although in India you may know little about girls as a criminal class, still you do know about boys; and must be aware that no boys who have been accustomed for several years to the freedom of a criminal life, would like to be taken and placed under confinement; if they knew that this would be the result of their actions, they would be tempted to abandon their crimes, rather than incur the punishment of restraint.

'Now, it appeared to me that society owed a duty to these girls, and that it ought to enable them to have a fair chance of redeeming their characters, and of becoming useful members of the State. This is a principle easily arrived at by Christians; for did not Christ come to seek and to save those which are lost? But with a Government it is different, for a Government, though Christian, does not profess to be guided solely by Christian principles; its actions must be regulated in a great measure by political expediency.

It must be shown, therefore, that such a training of the juvenile criminal population is for the general good of society as well as in accordance with strictly Christian principles. This can easily be done. These young persons, besides the injury they directly inflict on society, are doing incalculable harm by their influence, and form in each case around them a circle of crime: if girls, they will probably become the

mothers of wicked children, and thus perpetuate their misdeeds for many generations. It was shown, therefore, that for the good of the country, the Government should arrest the progress of crime; this would not be done by sending the children to jail, where many had been as often as six or eight times, but by some different line of treatment.

'I will now go back to a period twenty years ago, when I first began the work which led to the establishment of my Girls' Reformatory School, in which I developed my principles of the education of the criminal class. The idea was then just springing up, that it was the duty of society to educate the lowest and most degraded class of children. As the highest classes of society had all along been fully aware of the benefits of education, they had willingly made sacrifices to secure these benefits for their children, so that in their case there was no necessity for the aid of Government. But for the middle classes the Government had supplemented the contributions of private benevolence, in order to educate these, or rather the lower middle or mechanic class, who were not able to secure a good education for their children without assistance. The schools established for these classes correspond to your branch schools, and some of them to your higher schools.

'But the education thus afforded did not reach the lower classes of the population, nor does it in your country. When I came to India I was quite ignorant of what was being done in the way of education. In the first town I visited, I was grieved to see tribes of children wandering about the streets totally uncared for. This is not now the case in England; for though we have great poverty, yet there are always persons to be found anxious to do some good, and to ameliorate the condition of the poor and the distressed. In India there is much liberality, no doubt, as has been lately evinced during the famine which has ravaged Bengal and Orissa, but as yet there has been no attempt to *educate* the lowest classes. Twenty years ago we in England were in the same state, and then, for the first time, a number of benevolent persons tried to educate some of these forlorn children, not in order to raise them out

of their proper sphere, but to enable them to work honestly and fitly in their appointed vocations. We took the very lowest. I have watched the progress of not a few of these, and seen the gradual conversion of young savages into respectable men and women. I am speaking from the experience of twenty years. I wish I could impart to you the joy I have had in hundreds of cases of reformation.'

Miss Carpenter here presented a number of photographs for the eager examination of many, who passed them on from hand to hand. 'There you see,' she continued, 'the intelligent faces and refined bearings of some of those whom, under God's blessing, we have saved from apparent destruction, if not from certain ruin. This man,' showing his picture, 'is now in Canada, and a promising farmer. This one is an English mechanic, with a young and happy family growing up around him.' Others were similarly presented, and as briefly described. These had been gathered from the streets years ago, into what were at first denominated, in keeping with the extreme poverty of the pupils, *Ragged Schools*. Once given in derision, the success which had glorified them now wore that name as a crown. Their chief glory and lever of success was the Christian spirit in which they were originated, and had been conducted. By Christian she meant the loving and wise and self-sacrificing spirit.

Miss Carpenter continued:—

'I have now spoken of a class of young people who were willing to be taken by the hand, and who for our love gave us their gratitude. But we find a class lower than these,—unhappy street-rovers, who prefer to lead a roving precarious life; and whom gentle means can rarely win, or persuade to enter a school, or stay as inmates of a well-ordered reformatory home. This is a class far more difficult to deal with and to help. The unhappy condition, and almost certain fate as criminals, of this Arab class—in Christian cities, and in *your cities here* no less,—have exercised the best and deepest thinkers, and the students of political economy, as well as of religion and human duty. How shall these wilful wanderers be reached,

brought home, and saved to society and themselves? Devoted men and our wisest philanthropists—as you probably know—have opened refuges for such in the most civilised countries of Europe, like the establishment of Mettray in France and the Rauhe Haus in Germany—reformatories whose known success have brought them visitors and enquirers from all parts of the world. The object here is not so much to *enforce* discipline as to change the heart and will from evil to good. The one aim is to inspire these special subjects of discipline with the feeling that they can be good, and, being worthy of love and honour, obtain it. They are more and more comforted and trusted as they are able to bear it. And it has been found that there is no extent of wickedness, at least in the young, which may not be conquered, if we have enough of hope, wisdom, and patience. I have seen enough to convince me, little as I know of this country, that you also have roving here boys of this wild-liberty sort, who prefer to run away from all the restraints of home, and to sleep abroad in outhouses and dark corners, and who live by pilfering and incipient crime. When I was at Ahmedabad, the superintendent of the jail informed me that there were hordes of boys in that city and neighbourhood who roved over the country living solely by plunder; these were often recruited from such as had been in jail for short terms. I saw there a number of boys brought out of jail for trial, having been confined four months; and these had to be dismissed, as there was not sufficient evidence to convict them. What is to be done with such as these?

'We then found that it would be necessary for us, in order to take effectively the place of parents to those wild children, to secure a legal power over them, by inducing the State to regard us as standing in *loco parentis* with respect to our youthful wards. We asked the State, therefore, as soon as it was convinced of the wisdom of our measures, to abandon the practice of imprisonment and whipping, and to give us the power of legal detention over the children. We consented, if the State would make some payment for their maintenance, to defray the rest of the expenditure ourselves.

'After long exertion our efforts were rewarded with success, and the Legislature passed an Act for the better care and reformation of youthful offenders in Great Britain. By this Act, when any person under sixteen years of age shall be convicted of any offence punishable by law, in addition to the sentence passed as a punishment for the offence, he may be sent, at the expiration of the sentence, to some one of the reformatory schools, and there detained for not less than two nor more than five years, provided his sentence has not been for less than fourteen days' imprisonment. Thus our Reformatory Schools were established! Steady discipline was observed in these schools, kind teachers were provided, and useful work was taught. The scholars, after giving sufficient evidence of improvement, were allowed to enter into society, at first on trial, but if they did well they obtained their discharge. The Act was passed in 1854, and since that time, school after school has been set up. At first the supply was altogether inadequate to meet the wants of the country; the increase of crime outstripped the means adopted for its suppression. But this is no longer the case, for it is found that by taking off the ringleaders the gangs of offenders disperse, while those that remain become more amenable to discipline, and a very sensible diminution of juvenile crime is thus effected. At the beginning of the reformatory system numbers of young persons had been six, seven, or even eight times in prison; now few can be found who have been previously twice confined. At first the majority of our fellow-countrymen did not believe that we should succeed; but experience has proved that these young offenders may become respectable members of society, and many instances could be adduced of boys who have abandoned their former vicious practices, and have afterwards led useful and worthy lives.

'You in India are doubtless more interested about girls than about boys; I will therefore now proceed to tell you my plans for the reformation of girls. And here I must remark that there are greater difficulties to be met with in the case of girls than in that of boys. In the first place, people are extremely unwilling to take into their houses girls who have once come

under the grasp of the law; and, secondly, as girls are not exposed to the same temptations as boys, it is probable that, when they are guilty, their offences will be of a more serious nature. Also, the mind of woman being naturally more delicate and sensitive than that of man, when it does become corrupt the work of reform is peculiarly difficult. For such reasons it was our imperative duty to pay special attention to the girls, and to found a reformatory school for improving their condition. And here I must acknowledge the services of that admirable woman Lady Noel Byron, who, sympathising with me in my plans, requested me to buy a house, which she agreed to let to the school for a small sum. The house selected was the well-known Red Lodge, a place possessing a certain historical interest. It had been built in ancient times as a monastery, and had been fitted up in the reign of Queen Elizabeth as the residence of a knight. Afterwards it became a young ladies' school, and subsequently the celebrated Dr. Pritchard, author of the "Physical History of Man," purchased it for his own residence. This was now to become the home of our children.

'The girls whom we were led to train were not, like your girls here in India, timid gentle creatures, but young persons with perverted natures, strong wills, and daring spirits. In educating them we had a difficult task to perform; they had to be treated with indulgence, and at the same time kept under proper control; evil had to be overcome by good; it was essential that living examples of purity and excellence should be presented to them; and, above all, a loving and religious spirit was required. Religion, in my opinion, is an essential element of such an education, and nothing can be done without it. By religion I do not mean sectarian dogmas, but the simple teaching of the rules of duty as the will of God—the love of our Heavenly Father and the life of Christ being taught and practised. Most of those with whom I have been engaged in this work have held different religious opinions from mine, yet this difference has never given rise to disputes; and we have all laboured together in love and sympathy.

'One great object was to train the physical as well as the

mental powers of these girls, so that they might get their living as domestic servants, or take care of their own little homes, if they should be married. For this purpose they were employed in active work, such as washing, baking, &c.; they were also taught needlework, and in their hours of relaxation they took walks, indulged in innocent recreations, and frequented the society of good persons. Music was also taught, on account of its peculiarly refining influence, and the coarse songs which the girls had formerly been in the habit of singing, were exchanged for hymns and songs of an innocent and elevated character. They also learned to read and write; their reading was not extensive, but what little they did read was well understood. By such means excellent results were obtained; the girls were no longer outcasts, but were received into the service of respectable people. Some have turned out badly, but the experience of the last four years enables me to say that out of seventy, sixty have turned out well, and one only has been a second time in prison. These principles might, when adapted to the circumstances of this country, be extended to India; for the same general principles apply, with slight modifications, to different classes and communities—to young girls in all conditions of life.

'I want, if possible, that your little girls should acquire a taste for knowledge. They are quite capable of doing so. I was much pleased, on visiting one of your girls' schools lately, to observe the ready answers given to the questions of the Inspector. One child, on being asked what silk was, described it accurately, and then ran for a book in which she pointed out to us the picture of a silkworm. She had *thought* about her lessons. All girls should learn needlework, and it is also important that their physical powers should be trained. India is decidedly deficient in physical training with regard both to boys and to girls.

'The object of all education is so to develope the mental powers that the young mind may delight in learning. I have been sorry to notice, in some of the boys' schools which I have visited in India, splendid libraries in which the books looked

suspiciously neat and clean. On enquiring the cause of this, I have been told that the students are so occupied in working for degrees, that they have no time for general reading. Now, learning should be sought for its own sake, and not merely for the sake of professional success in after-life.

'I have been pleased to observe, in the large schools of this country, the diligence of the scholars and the zeal and attention of the masters, but I have been sorry to find that the young men take no walks, and indulge in no games or athletic sports. They may depend upon it that such a course is injurious to the mind, as well as to the body, and that if their bodily powers were well developed, their minds would be strengthened also. As with boys so it is with girls, who, although they do not require the same kind of physical training as boys, should yet be encouraged to take exercise adapted to them. If they commence this when young, they will feel inclined for it afterwards. As a rule, the little girls in this country seem quite listless, but in two *boarding*-schools which I visited, the girls, when let out to play, were as active and lively as any English girls, and displayed great life and animation. It is evident, therefore, that if little Hindoo girls had their physical powers properly developed, they would be lively and active. In addition to all this, it is necessary that there should be a good wholesome moral influence at work, so as to secure that healthy habit and tone of mind, without which there can be no well-being in life. No lessons in morality, however good, can produce any permanent benefit, unless the surrounding influences keep up the effect of them—unless the pupils are placed under those whe are loving and good. All depends on the teacher, and I can myself testify that my own exertions would have been useless, if the teachers had not thrown themselves heart and soul into the work, and if they had not been imbued with right moral principles. Several Hindoo gentlemen have visited my reformatory at the Red Lodge. I may mention, especially, the late lamented Ramchunder Balkrishna, of Bombay, who came purposely from London to Bristol to see it. Every Hindoo who has been there, has gone away most favourably

impressed with the results produced. If such an influence, they have said, can be produced on low and coarse girls, what will be the result when such a system is carried out among Hindoo girls, gentle and loving, and who have not the bad principles which are found in these young women?'

At the conclusion of the address, the chairman informed the members of the society that Miss Carpenter was willing to answer any questions on the subject of education which they might be anxious to propose. Accordingly, the Rev. Mr. Long enquired if natural history was not taught in the schools in England, and if Miss Carpenter did not consider natural history to be well worthy of occupying a prominent place among the studies of the young.

Miss Carpenter, in reply, said: 'I regard natural history as a most valuable subject, and one that should be taught, if possible, in all schools. My teaching has been carried on in a large city, yet even there opportunities for acquiring such knowledge were not altogether wanting. A study of the works of the Creator is most beneficial and important, not only scientifically, for encouraging habits of arrangement and cultivating the powers of observation, but also for the sake of the reverent spirit which it instils, and, in the case of the female mind, for the softening influence which it produces.'

The Rev. Mr. Long then put another question, asking if it was not the custom in England to have gardens attached to the schools.

Miss Carpenter, in reply, said: 'It is impossible in England to have gardens in the ordinary day-schools which are situated in populous towns, where every available spot of ground is built upon. In England we are dreadfully crowded. Here, on the contrary, you have ample room, and it has surprised me to find that you do not avail yourselves more extensively of the resources thus afforded for adorning with shrubs and flowers the compounds which surround your dwellings, and even your schools. In England the people delight in flowers. In London, and other large towns, the windows of the houses, even in the poorest neighbourhoods, are generally adorned

with little pots containing plants, which bear beautiful and fragrant flowers. I had expected, in a tropical country like this, where nature is so lavish in her gifts, to have found in all your houses a rich profusion of flowers; you may judge, then, how great my disappointment has been, on perceiving that, neither among the working-people in your towns, nor among the peasantry in your villages, are there any indications of a taste for flowers or gardening. Agricultural work and gardening are taught in our English reformatory schools, and the results obtained are most beneficial.'

Baboo Kissory Chand Mittra then addressed the meeting to the following effect:—

'I have been requested, sir, to move the resolution which I hold in my hand, conveying the grateful acknowledgments of this meeting to Miss Carpenter. Although I could wish it had been entrusted to other and abler hands, yet I should not shrink from expressing my admiration for the very lucid and exhaustive address with which she has favoured us. It is replete with interesting details, which have a peculiar claim on our attention. Miss Carpenter has laboured zealously and successfully, in England, to educate the ignorant and reclaim the vicious. Her benevolence being fettered by no distinctions of race or religion, she has come out to India to do what she can for the education of the Hindoo females. She has already brought her influence to bear on the Government for the purpose of establishing a Central Normal Female School. In order to strengthen her hands, a representation, urging the necessity of such an institution, has been submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor by several Hindoo gentlemen. Exception has been taken to this movement by some persons, who profess to believe that trained female teachers to take charge of female schools are not wanted, inasmuch as school instruction is not now practicable. I am not ashamed to avow that I am a party to the memorial to the Government, and my friend on my left (Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen) is another. I have bestowed some thought on the subject, and have had ample opportunities of watching the operations of both school in-

struction and domestic instruction, and I have no hesitation in declaring my conviction that the former is an immeasurably superior system to the latter. Those who underrate school instruction, and overrate zenana instruction, are grievously mistaken. The zenana system may, in the beginning, be necessary in many cases. I do not depreciate it. I rejoice in its intention, but I can advocate it only as a tentative and a transitional measure, but not as a finality and ultimatum. It is dull and lifeless, whereas the other is instinct with life and animation. Fancy, sir, a governess teaching one or two girls within the four walls of a dark and, perhaps, ill-ventilated room. Why, it is very dull work, and both the teacher and the taught participate in the dulness. They cannot resist, so to speak, catching the torpidity of the thing. The efficiency of school instruction depends, on the other hand, on the living contact of spirit with spirit. It is to be ascribed to the sympathy of numbers, which has an electric effect, leading to the formation and development of right impressions and feelings, breaking up the old ground, and letting in new light. But, sir, whatever system may be best adapted to promote the enlightenment of our females, I earnestly beg my educated fellow-countrymen to remember, that the social and mental status held by the women of a country is the true test of its civilisation. I would fervently impress on them the truth of what Tennyson has said,—

> The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink
> Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free.

'Impressed with this view, I regard the mission which has brought out Miss Carpenter here, as one of the noblest—one, the fulfilment of which is fraught with results of the last importance to our country. In the interests of civilisation and humanity she should be honoured. I have, therefore, no doubt that the resolution will meet with your cordial acceptance:—

'*Resolution.*—That this meeting has listened with great interest and satisfaction to the highly eloquent and instructive address of Miss Carpenter, on female education in general, and

on the reformatory school system with reference to female crime; and desires to place on record its cordial acknowledgments to her for the trouble she has taken in edifying the society with her views on the subject.'

The resolution, having been warmly seconded by Mr. Tudor Trevor, was put to the vote, and carried by acclamation.

The Rev. K. M. Bannerjea then moved the following resolution, namely:—'That the Female Education section of the Bethune Society be requested to consider and report on the plan or scheme of Female Education propounded by Miss Carpenter.'

The reverend gentleman said that female education was no novelty in this country, as both tradition and history testified to the existence of female learning in ancient India. Lilavati was a reputed mathematician, and the wife of Kaledasa, a woman well read in literature and the Shastras. The latter had taken a vow that she would not marry anyone but the man who would have completely proved the superiority of his own attainments to those of her own in an open literary debate. One by one she vanquished all the learned men of her time, who, to have their revenge upon her, produced before her Kaledasa, a reputed blockhead, as a literary giant at whose feet they would be proud to learn. She was duped by some contrivance on the part of these men, and she accepted Kaledasa for her husband, but it was not long before she found her mistake. The gods took compassion upon Kaledasa, and made him the poet of all poets. After adverting to similar instances of female learning, the eloquent speaker exhorted his countrymen, who claimed such an antiquity, to rouse themselves to action, and ameliorate the present degraded condition of their women. He hoped that they will soon give Miss Carpenter an opportunity of hearing that her mission to India has borne good fruit.

The motion, having been seconded by Dr. Chuckerbutty, was carried unanimously.

The President then rose and addressed the meeting as follows:—

'It has now become my duty—most pleasant to discharge—

to convey to Miss Carpenter the thanks which you have embodied in the resolution just passed. But, before I do this in formal terms, I will, with your permission, make some very short observations upon one or two of the points which Miss Carpenter has presented to our notice in her lecture. She has spoken with satisfaction of the small show which young girls apparently make in the criminal class of this country. I think, as far as my limited experience enables me to judge, that her remark might with almost equal force be applied to boys. During the short time that I have been engaged in the administration of justice in this Presidency, I have been struck with the paucity of juvenile offenders brought before our criminal courts, as compared with the numbers of children who fall under the notice of the criminal tribunals in England. In saying this, I speak of the general impressions left on my memory by my own personal experience, and not upon the authority of any sort of statistics. If, however, I am right in this, and that children really do come less within the grasp of the police here than in England, I would look for the cause not merely in the intrinsic character of the race, as Miss Carpenter does, but also in the joint family system of the people, and the domestic habits which it engenders. One of the great merits of that system—and I will not conceal my opinion that it also exhibits great demerits—is that the old and feeble, the young and thoughtless, are almost always preserved from absolute want, and are thus protected from the temptation to those offences which are the special offspring of pauperism. Still boys do, no doubt, often appear in our police courts and even at our sessions, and for these a reformatory is urgently wanted. I believe that imprisonment works unmitigated harm upon them. With children, considered as a class of the community, imprisonment operates in scarcely any perceptible degree as a deterrent from crime. I conceive that this must necessarily be the case everywhere, but I believe it to be more true here than in England. It follows, then, from the comparative uselessness of imprisonment in the sense of a preventive cause, that it ought to be made the most of in the way of reformation. In England,

thanks to the persevering labours of Miss Carpenter and those with whom she has worked, reformatories for the young have become so entirely part of our jail system, that no magistrate ever thinks of inflicting simple imprisonment on a child. When first it fell to me at our criminal sessions, soon after I came out from England, to pass sentence on a young boy, I enquired of the jailer what would be the minimum sufficient to carry the child to a reformatory, and you may judge of the surprise with which I learned from him that there was no such thing as a prison reformatory in this country! From that day to this I have felt that the absence of a proper reformatory is a crying want, and sincerely trust that Miss Carpenter's efforts in this direction may bear speedy fruits.

'Miss Carpenter has told us of her disappointment in finding this a flowerless country; and from what she has said, I should almost suppose that it has escaped her to notice the particular season of the year in which she has come to us. It is true that during the current three months of the cold season there is no great show of indigenous flowers. Had she, however, arrived here at almost any time of the other nine months, she could hardly have spoken as she now has. The profusion of colouring and blossom which would have met her eye would, I think, have satisfied all her expectations. It happened to me to land in this country in the rains, and I certainly cannot easily exaggerate the delight which the exuberance of colour on tree and shrub alike then caused me. But probably, had Miss Carpenter come at such a season, she would not have omitted to notice, amid the brilliant profusion of wild flowers, the entire absence of all attempts at floral cultivation, which is, as she remarks, conspicuous about the dwellings of the lower classess all the year round, without exception. I quite agree with her that this feature is significant of a low condition of vitality of the finer sensibilities and feelings of the people. And the want of this kind of refinement is the more remarkable, because our neighbours the Burmese, with a climate and condition of life very similar to our own, are distinguished for their love of flowers, and the pleasure which

they exhibit in their cultivation. You will see, universally, little gardens about the huts, flower-pots suspended in the verandahs, and flowers most tastefully placed in the hair of the women.

'The importance which Miss Carpenter attributes to physical exercise and recreation in the education of children is not, I am convinced, in any degree exaggerated. It is often, I believe, said that this climate is such as to render healthful exercise very difficult of attainment in a Bengal school. For my own part, I cannot understand how this can be. To refer once more to Burmah: there, with a climate very similar to our own—certainly, I should say, just as enervating in its steamy heat and saturated atmosphere—there young people of all classes seem to take the utmost delight in outdoor games and exercises. It quite recalled to me old scenes of my own English university experience to witness the enthusiasm with which high and low rushed to the river-bank as spectators of a boat-race, and the demonstrations of sympathy with the contending parties in their varying fortune.

'However, I will detain you no longer, but will proceed to offer to Miss Carpenter our united thanks in the terms of the resolution.'

The President then thanked Miss Carpenter, on behalf of the society, for her very excellent and instructive address, and declared the meeting at an end.

APPENDIX B.*

On December 9, 1867, a numerously attended and influential meeting of the English and native inhabitants was held at Ahmedabad, to bid farewell to Dr. Wyllie, on his departure for the seat of war in Abyssinia. The hall was beautifully decorated, and great enthusiasm prevailed. Sett Myabhai Premabhai, having been called to the chair, requested Sett Becherdass Ambaidass to read the following address, which was neatly bound with a golden border, and enclosed in a brocade cover :—

To Surgeon-Major D. Wyllie, M.D., Civil Surgeon, Ahmedabad.

Dear Sir,—We, the undersigned inhabitants of the city of Ahmedabad, deeply impressed with a sense of the great and valuable services which you have rendered to us and our city during the eleven years you have resided among us, beg, on the eve of your departure from Ahmedabad, to tender you our warmest and very sincere thanks for all you have done for us. Much as we regret that we are to be deprived of your valuable assistance in future, we feel that it is our duty to congratulate you on the honour that has been conferred on you, by your having been selected to fill an important and responsible post in the army which is leaving the shores of India to punish the tyrannical despot of Abyssinia. Knowing the useful services that you rendered in the Sikh war in 1848-49, and also when attached to the force which left Ahmedabad in 1858, under General Sir Henry Roberts, to chastise the dastardly mutineers, we congratulate the army of Abyssinia and its gallant chief, Sir Robert Napier, in having with them a medical officer of so ripe and varied professional experience, and one so well able to alleviate the distress of the

* Extracted from the *Bombay Gazette*, December 19, 1867.

sick and wounded. At the same time, great is our sorrow at having to part with one who is so well known to all classes of the community in this city. It was by you that the Hutteessing and Premabhaee Hospitals were organised and brought into their present state of efficiency, which render them a blessing to thousands. We are much indebted to your exertions for the Lunatic Asylum, and the Becherdass and Raipoor Dispensaries. The Hemabhaee Institute, of which you have been the President for some years past, has benefited much from your valuable aid and advice; and the many public meetings held in this room, and over which you have presided, owed much of their success to your tact, patience, and urbanity. As one of the most active members of the Municipal Commission in this city, your services have been most valuable in improving its sanitary condition. In every work of philanthropy and of improvement you have always taken an active part. As Civil Surgeon, you have ever responded to the call of poor and rich alike, and in a way that has endeared you to this community, while countless thousands have benefited by your professional skill during your long sojourn amongst us. We beg to express our sincere gratitude for your kind demeanour to and treatment of all classes of your fellow-citizens. You were always ready to assist them in every possible way in your power. Believe us, dear sir, when we say that we part from you as from a dear friend and benefactor whose good deeds will never be forgotten. We earnestly pray the Author and Giver of all good things that He will watch over and protect you in the field, and crown your future labours with an abundant success; that you will return in health and strength to your native land, and there enjoy many years of repose and happiness; and that when there you will doubtless think of our city and its inhabitants, and believe that here are those who will never forget you and your labours. In conclusion, permit us to express a hope that you will accept, as a small token of our grateful remembrance, a piece of plate and a diamond ring, which shall hereafter be forwarded to your agent in Bombay or England; and as we are all desirous of having some memento, to remind

us in your absence of one we have so long known and esteemed, we beg you will kindly consent to sit for your likeness on arrival in Bombay.—We remain, dear sir,

Your obedient and obliged servants,

(*Signed by several respectable inhabitants*).

Ahmedabad: Hemabhace Institute, December 9, 1867.

The address, together with a handsome and costly ring, was then presented to Dr. Wyllie amidst loud acclamations.

Dr. Wyllie responded warmly to the address, in an appropriate speech.

Mr. Cowasjee Muncherjee Sorabjee, in supporting the address, made the following observations, and was repeatedly applauded by the meeting during his speech:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am deputed by my father, Mr. Muncherjee Sorabjee, to become his mouthpiece; and it has therefore devolved upon me to give utterance to the regret which moves him and his fellow-citizens (for whom he would likewise speak) at the near approach of Dr. Wyllie's departure. Dr. Wyllie, while establishing for himself, by the exercise of a rare nobility of heart, the character of being a real friend of this populous city and its poorer people, has, by his various attainments and his ceaseless devotion to the claims preferred upon him by suffering human nature, proved that he is an ornament to society, an honour to this city, and to his profession. (Cheers.) The address just read has justly and deservedly recorded his virtues, and his success as a medical officer in this city. I can only supplement its expressions by offering a tribute of my father's gratitude and mine also, in common with that of others, for all the public and private acts of kindness, which we are witnesses of, done by Dr. Wyllie for the inhabitants of our birthplace. For years Dr. Wyllie has exerted himself in the cause of improvement and enlightenment, and his labours for the good of the community have been crowned with signal success. (Applause.) This, then, is the reason of this unanimous tribute of admiration and respect paid this hour to our friend, and which comes from every section of society. When the natives of Hindostan spon-

taneously join in a public movement of this kind, it affords a proof that they appreciate progress, and are anxious to tread with a quick and ready step the path of civilisation. If our countrymen would rise to a proper and an honoured political status, it can only be by copying the lives and emulating the virtues of good and nobleminded men. In honouring men of worth, it should be recollected that we do honour to ourselves, and that we thereby show the world that we have reached that state of refinement and culture which enables an educated man to single out the learned and the wise, and to do honour at once to the wisdom of his head, and to the goodness of his heart. This city was in ancient days pre-eminent amongst those of India for art and social advancement; I believe that had we a few more men amongst us possessed of Dr. Wyllie's influence, they would largely assist in restoring it to its former position. Were his example followed, the welfare and prosperity of Ahmedabad would be secured. (Loud applause.) I need not remind you that in this gentleman who is about to leave us, we all recognise the existence of a highly-cultured mind, a sound judgment, and a nice taste, while in all his public undertakings we notice that he has supported impartial justice. His sympathies and labour have been constant in the promotion of good feeling between the English and the natives, and this alone entitles him to our unqualified gratitude, and accounts for his having won the hearts of the entire community. Although he journeys from this, and will be absent, he leaves behind him recollections of immense good memories that will not quickly fade and die. The picture of Dr. Wyllie, which will be placed next the founder of this institute, will be often gazed upon with respect, and when beheld will reawaken that admiration which his life and deeds produced, when he was amongst us. I bid Dr. Wyllie a cordial farewell, and, speaking for Ahmedabad, I trust that even greater success may attend him, and that happiness and prosperity may follow his footprints in every land where war or fortune may call him to travel, where I am sure he will maintain the dignity of an English gentleman, adding that charm to it—the benevolence of a true philanthropist. (Cheers.)

APPENDIX C.

THE silver tea-service was presented on Friday, August 23, 1867, at 55 Parliament Street, London; a number of Hindoo and Parsee gentlemen, and two Parsee ladies, as well as English, having assembled on the occasion. The following is an extract from the report of the meeting in the 'Inquirer' of August 31:—

'Sir Bartle Frere, ex-Governor of Bombay, on being requested to preside over the meeting, said he had great pleasure in so doing. Having been present when Miss Carpenter visited Bombay, and having seen what (and how wisely) she had done to stir up interest in female education, he gladly accepted the office of chairman, and he felt sure that what would take place in that room would give pleasure to her friends in India. He then called upon

'Mr. Nowrozji Furdonji, who, addressing Miss Carpenter, said: "Madam, I have a very pleasing duty to perform—to present to you a silver tea-service from my friends and countrymen in Bombay. On the eve of your departure they presented to you an address, and, had time permitted, they would then have asked you to accept the tea-service, which in their name I now with great pleasure offer to you as a memento of your visit to Bombay. That visit, we believe, will be productive of great benefit to our country, in that it will tend to the promotion of female education and the amelioration of the people. Not only during your visit to Bombay, but in your own country also, have you taken great interest in educational and other philanthropic movements, of which I and my friends here, and in our native country, desire to record our high appreciation."

'The speaker then, again expressing the pleasure it gave him to be the means of making the presentation, handed to Miss

Carpenter a very beautiful and chaste tea-service, bearing the inscription—"Presented to Miss Mary Carpenter, by several of her native friends in Bombay, as a small token of esteem and gratitude for her enlightened zeal and disinterestedness in the cause of the education of the daughters of India, and as a memento of her visit to their country. Bombay, March 18, 1867."

'Miss Carpenter responded gratefully, stating that she received the beautiful plate with more pleasure, from regarding it as a token of the welcome they would give to her countrywomen.

'Interesting addresses were delivered by Dadabhai Naoroji, Nowrozji Furdonji, Kursandass Mulji, and Manockji Cursetji. The principal points to which these gentlemen directed the attention of the meeting were the following:—That the prejudice against female education in Bombay was fast yielding to the conviction that the time was now come for decided individual, collective, and Government action for the education of the people of India. It was pleasing to hear the experiences of these native gentlemen, and the incidents touching the opposition they had encountered from some of their friends at an early stage, and who were now thoroughly converted to the importance of female education. The increase of the female pupils at the Parsee schools in Bombay was noticed; and the attendance of the daughters of some of the natives who were, a few years ago, bitter opponents of female education, augured well for the future success of this movement. They were all agreed on the necessity of the Government making liberal grants for female education in India, and pressed this on the attention of the Chairman, that his influence might be used to this end.

'Sir Bartle Frere closed the meeting by saying that the native gentlemen present, who had spoken so well—and with their sentiments he perfectly concurred—could not do better for their cause than commit these sentiments to paper, and have them presented to that department of Government interested in the welfare of the people of India. He would do his utmost to help them in this laudable work, and was glad he had shared with them in the pleasure of the meeting, and in the honour done to Miss Carpenter.'

APPENDIX D.

THE following memorial, signed by about thirty Parsees and Hindoos now in London, has been addressed to the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P., C.B., Secretary of State for India in Council :—

SIR,—We, the undersigned native inhabitants of the Presidency of Bombay now resident in England, beg to submit for your favourable consideration the subject of the establishment of female normal training-schools at Bombay and Ahmedabad. We are informed that memorials were presented by the inhabitants of these two places to the Bombay Government. These memorials, being referred for consideration and report to Sir Alexander Grant, the Director of Public Instruction of the Bombay Presidency, he recommended to establish two normal schools. This recommendation was approved of by the Bombay Government, and submitted for sanction to the Supreme Government. We regret to hear that the Viceroy, while accepting the memorials, approving their object, and wishing it carried out, has not sanctioned Sir A. Grant's proposals, on the ground that half of the expenses has not been offered to be contributed by the memorialists. We beg to urge that the natives of Bombay and of the northern division of the Bombay Presidency are now well entitled to the aid they have asked. Female education in India—as you, Sir, are well aware—is surrounded with great and many difficulties; and it is a matter of congratulation and much credit to the people of Bombay and the northern division, that they have not only spontaneously accepted it as necessary and important, but have actually established and supported schools, for the past seventeen years, so that there are now 63 schools in the northern division, giving instruction to 2,300 girls, and 13 schools in Bombay, teaching above 1,600 girls. To these will be

added another school in Bombay, under the bequest of 40,000 rupees by the late Goculdass Tejpal. Considering how great must and will be the influence of the millions of mothers of India for the stability of the British rule, as well as for the regeneration of the country, it is of great importance that when spontaneous efforts are made by the natives themselves of any part of India, Government ought to come forward to show their high appreciation of such efforts, by giving every encouragement in their power, so as to induce a desire in other parts of India to do likewise. Taking into account how much the natives of the Presidency of Bombay have already done in the cause of education generally, as well as of female education, and the effects of four successive commercial crises from which they are now suffering, it is a great hardship to be at present so exacting with them. The great obstacle at present to a healthy development of the existing girls' schools, as well as of others that may hereafter be opened, is the want of female teachers; and this want, we pray, ought now to be supplied by Government in a liberal spirit, after the natives have shown their real earnestness by contributing largely for the support of the existing schools, and thus well fulfilled the spirit of the requirement of the despatch of 1854. We sincerely trust, Sir, that you will give your kind aid in this matter, and sanction the proposals made by Sir A. Grant, and approved of by the Bombay Government, which, in a case like this, may be allowed to be the best judges of the necessity of the application. In expressing this trust, we beg to commend your attention, and solicit your support, to an important feature of the plan proposed by Miss Mary Carpenter. She assures us that, till native ladies can be educated and trained for teachers, she is in a position to supply educated English ladies, who are willing to go out to India as students for the normal schools, and who, while receiving lessons in training and in the vernaculars, can also be availed of in teaching in some of the schools for a portion of the day—thus introducing at once the much-needed element of female tuition and superintendence. These English ladies are willing to go out, on the condition of passage,

board, and lodging being found for them till they are qualified to take charge of schools as regular tutors, and are engaged as such in any of the schools. We also think it important that Miss Mary Carpenter may, by the adoption of the above plan, be induced to go out to India, to work up the normal schools under her personal superintendence; as then, from the earnest and strong interest she has already evinced, the large experience she has acquired in work of similar character in this country, the success she has achieved in it, and the influence a lady of her accomplishments and position will exercise, the prospect of success of these schools will be very much enhanced and assured. We leave now, Sir, this important matter in your hands, fully confiding in the kind interest you take in the cause of the millions of India.

32 Great St. Helens, London, January 11.

The memorial was supplemented by the following letter to the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P., C.B., Secretary of State for India in Council:—

Sir,—In connection with the memorial of the natives of the Bombay Presidency now resident in England, dated 11th January 1868, I beg to be allowed to lay before you a few figures for your kind consideration.

Government have paid from imperial funds, for schools for native girls, for the year 1865-66, about Rs. 29,000 for the Bengal Presidency, Rs. 35,000 for the North-West Provinces, Rs. 33,000 for the Punjab, and Rs. 5,500 for the Madras Presidency (1866-67); while for the Bombay Presidency, for 1866-67, Rs. 341, or almost nothing.

Now we may see what the natives of these different parts of India have done.

In the Bengal Presidency the expenditure from other sources for the same year is about Rs. 41,000, of which I cannot ascertain how much is contributed from mission funds. Of native endowments, the proceeds for the year are Rs. 132: In the North-West Provinces, the expenditure from other

sources is about Rs. 23,000, but of this nearly half appears to be from mission funds. Of native endowments I find nothing. In the Punjab, the expenditure from other sources is about Rs. 31,000, of which there seems to be a small portion from mission funds. Of native endowments, the annual proceeds are Rs. 4,321, which is equal to endowments of about Rs. 100,000. In the Madras Presidency, the expenditure from other sources is about Rs. 36,500, nearly nine-tenths of which appear to be from mission funds. Of native endowments the proceeds are about Rs. 234. But in the Presidency of Bombay, the expenditure by the natives, without aid from Government, or without any share of mission funds, is about Rs. 40,000 for the year 1866—maybe more; and the endowwents by the natives are, I think, above Rs. 300,000. To this has been added one more, of Rs. 40,000, by the late Goculdass Tejpal. Lastly, Sir, there is another feature which deserves consideration—that the movement in Bombay was thoroughly spontaneous and native; that the natives have established and supported schools for the last 17 years without aid from Government, while I think, in other parts of India, Government aid has been more or less rendered from the very commencement, and missionaries are doing a large portion of the work.

With these figures and facts before Government, not to mention anything of the immense sums given for general education, I confidently trust that both the Viceroy and yourself will see that the native memorialists of the Bombay Presidency deserve, and are entitled to, the aid they have asked, especially when many of the principal friends of education are suffering from the effects of four successive commercial crises, and are unable to do now what they have always readily and willingly done, and would have, but for their crippled means, as readily come forward to do on the present occasion.—I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

32 Great St. Helens, London:
February 5, 1868.

THE ALEXANDRA NATIVE GIRLS' INSTITUTION AT BOMBAY.

THE following noble effort in promotion of the object is being made by Judge Manockjee Cursetjee, and will, it is hoped, elicit English help and sympathy :—

4 Albemarle Street, London, November 16, 1867.

1. This institution has been founded for maintaining a school or schools, to give, for the first time, a sound education on the English system.

2. The consequences that must result, from the success of such an institution, are so patent that I will not enlarge upon them further, than to premise, that it is calculated to emancipate the women of India from the state of ignorance that prevails amongst them, and from the tight grasp of superstition, by bringing about a thorough change, in their ideas and feelings, as the surest way of ameliorating their moral, mental, and social condition.

3. The institution was started, by contributions (added to my mite) amounting to Rs. 60,000 (6,000*l.*), by a few friends, and the first school was opened in 1863.

4. House-rent being very high, I placed a suite of apartments in my own house (Villa Byculla), at the disposal of the Managing Committee, as a temporary measure, until suitable premises could be obtained.

5. Circumstances rendered it necessary, two years afterwards, to remove the school to a house rented for the purpose, in another locality, until we should be able to purchase or build an edifice better adapted for our wants.

6. The following extract from a letter which I addressed to the life-governors and subscribers to the institution, will show the measures I took to secure a building suitable to our wants :—'I have, with your co-operation, succeeded in founding this institution. It promises success, and its success will supply a great desideratum—namely, a radical change in the

ideas of the future mothers of our families. Some of our friends have encouraged me with the hope, that a fund, to erect a building for our institution, could easily be raised, if I were to exert myself for the purpose, and get a site from Government. I shall be happy to contribute Rs. 5,000 (500*l.*), and afford any personal assistance in my power, provided those friendly to the cause of female education, on the principle of our institution, will co-operate with me in carrying out the object. Those friends who feel so disposed will be good enough to subscribe their names to the annexed list.'

7. Not more than seven individuals offered to subscribe the sum of Rs. 40,000 (4,000*l.*), to be added to what I contributed, and the Government of Bombay, on my application, generously granted a site for the school.

8. Just, however, as I believed that my object was attained, the late unfortunate turn of events,—the monetary convulsions, failures of banks and individuals, which occurred at Bombay, &c.—not only deprived my coadjutors of the means of fulfilling their engagements, but the original fund, actually collected and invested, was reduced to one-half,—or, in other words, from Rs. 60,000 (6,000*l.*), to Rs. 30,000 (3,000*l.*).

9. We waited for better times, of which, I am sorry to say, there is no immediate prospect; and by recent accounts, received from Bombay, it is too evident that in order to place the institution on a more secure and permanent basis, without some extraneous help, we may have to confess ourselves vanquished by the opponents of female education, upon the system I have been advocating for so many years.

10. To avert this humiliating catastrophe, I have undertaken to provide Rs. 50,000 (5,000*l.*), for the purpose of purchasing or erecting an edifice better adapted, not only for the location of the day-scholars of the Alexandra Institution, but also for the accommodation, under the same roof, of a normal class of female teachers, and for the Lady Superintendent and her staff of governesses.

11. The building will be called the 'Albert Hall,' in me-

moriam of the late great and good Prince Consort; and its principal room can be used for public meetings, lectures, &c., in furtherance of the object of education in general, and of female education in particular.

12. The above Rs. 50,000 (5,000*l.*), if not more, will be raised, in coin or kind, by contributions to a Grand Bazaar to be held in Bombay next year, under the distinguished patronage of the ladies and gentlemen of Europe and India. The deficiency I will make up from my own means.

13. I require not money so much as the sympathy of the great and good people, particularly ladies (forming the royal and noble circle), to manifest to the people of India how much their unfortunate sisters are thought of and cared for by those exalted in rank, and not only blessed with the means of helping them, but also with benevolent hearts.

14. Any contributions in furtherance of the above-mentioned object, either in money or in fancy articles for the Bazaar, especially the handiwork of the ladies, will be greatly prized, and thankfully acknowledged, and faithfully applied for the purposes of the institution, by

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE, *Bombay.*

The Secretary of State for India having been pleased to allow articles for the Bazaar to be transmitted by the Government vessels, please address all contributions to the care of Major-General Willoughby, C.B., &c., East India Government Store Depôt, Belvedere Road, Lambeth. Contributions, not already packed for shipping to Bombay, may be sent to the care of Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., 32 Great St. Helens, London.

APPENDIX E.

On Thursday, June 6, 1867, a deputation from the Social Science Association waited on Sir Stafford Northcote, the Secretary of State for India, at the India Office, to present a memorial on the subject of Jail and Prison Discipline in India.

The Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., having introduced the deputation, Mr. G. W. Hastings (the honorary general secretary of the association) read the memorial, as follows :—

'The Committee of the Reformatory Section of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, and of the Law Amendment Society, beg respectfully to solicit your attention to the state of the jails and of prison discipline in India.

'You are, Sir, aware that the question of the due treatment of criminals, with a view to the reformation of the offender and the future prevention of crime, has long occupied the attention of the societies represented by this Committee. It has also been frequently considered by Parliament, and has been reported on by Royal Commissions and Committees of both Houses. By these means the true principles of prison discipline have been fully elucidated: a system founded upon those principles has for some time past been in successful operation in the convict prisons of Ireland, while a similar system has been, to a considerable extent, adopted throughout the United Kingdom.

'The establishment in Her Majesty's Indian Empire of a system of prison discipline founded on the same sound principles is the object which the Committee has in view in thus addressing you. Of the existing evils in the jails of India—evils great, and even terrible—the Committee can have no doubt, after hearing the information detailed to it by eyewitnesses who have recently quitted that country. This evidence is,

moreover, corroborated by the facts stated in printed official reports.

'For example, it must be conceded that the separation of criminals at night is an essential element of sound prison discipline. Now, the Committee learns that throughout the jails of India there are but few separate sleeping-cells, sometimes as many as forty or fifty prisoners being locked up together, generally for twelve hours, and that without light. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that the prison officers find it impossible to prevent grievous moral contamination, and even heinous crime.

'The Committee also learns that hardly any provision exists for the instruction of the prisoners, either by the appointment of suitable schoolmasters, or in any other way. It is obvious that religious teaching cannot be given to native prisoners; but this makes it the more important that they should have the benefit of moral training, and of the elements of education.

'The case of the female prisoners seems to be even more deplorable than that of the males, since they not only suffer the same evils, but have the additional disadvantage of being left without any warders of their own sex, and in a great measure without care or help in their wretchedness.

'The Committee is informed that in many jails there is enormous crowding, and other evils incident to the unsuitable condition of the buildings, which frequently have been erected for other purposes than that for which they are employed. There is, consequently, a very high mortality: the Jail Report of the Madras Presidency gives a death-rate of 12·944 per cent. per annum.

'Hardly any provision seems to have been made for the reformatory treatment of young offenders in India; yet the contaminating nature of the jails, and the known increase of juvenile crime, make the establishment of reformatory schools an urgent necessity. To you, Sir, the Committee need not quote the beneficial results which have followed the institution of reformatories in this kingdom, for you have been one of

the most consistent, as you were one of the earliest, supporters of that system.

'The Committee is aware that the evils above described have long been the subject of anxious consideration by the Government of India, and that some ameliorations have been at various times effected; but the difficulties in the way of improvement seem to be too great to be surmounted by the means hitherto employed. The principles of convict treatment which have been adopted in this kingdom do not seem to have found their way into India. At this moment several new jails are contemplated, and central prisons for long-sentenced prisoners are in course of erection; yet even in these the provision of separate sleeping-cells for all the prisoners does not form part of the arrangements, nor is the Committee aware that the jails, generally, are being constructed in a manner suited to the adoption of a sound system of discipline. Immediate action seems, therefore, to be urgently required, in order to prevent the expenditure of public money in a way which may hereafter be deeply regretted. With this object in view, the Committee ventures to suggest that a Commission, constituted of some person or persons thoroughly versed in the improved treatment of convicts, be sent to India, to co-operate with the Government there in the establishment of a proper system of prison discipline.

'The Committee need not point out that a salutary treatment of prisoners leads, necesssrily, to the prevention of crime, and consequently to an economical saving, both to the Government and to the whole community. On this ground alone the Committee might be justified in calling your attention to the subject; but there are higher considerations than this—those of the welfare of the immense population of India, and of the moral duty which devolves on our nation to care for the interests of our Indian fellow-subjects. These, Sir, have impelled the Committee to address you thus earnestly, in the full conviction that its representations will receive from you a favourable hearing.

(Signed) 'G. W. HASTINGS,

'*Honorary Secretary.*'

Mr. Hastings spoke strongly on the importance of inquiry into the causes of the mortality in the Indian jails, and urged that improved treatment, such as that introduced into Ireland by Sir Walter Crofton, should be established. He thought that if reformatory schools were established, and the young offenders sent there, precisely the same results would happen as we have in this country—you would cut off the supply that continually swells the criminal ranks, and prevent young persons growing up into adult ones.

THE END.

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